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THE INSTITUTE OF
TRADITIONAL CULTURES
MADRAS

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MADRAS-5, INDIA
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PART—I

UNIVERSITY OF MADRAS

1965

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Madras

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PREFACE

This is the first part of the Bulletin for 1965; it conforms to the same pattern as for the previous years. Three papers appear in Section I on Articles: the first on Democracy: Britain and India, the second on the Sakti cult in Tamilnad and the last on The Indonesian Political Tradition is a reproduction from *France-Asie*, Vol. XIX, No. 180. The proceedings of a seminar on Social Aspects of Mechanization of Agriculture follows in Section II. The third section, as usual carries a bibliography of books and articles of cultural interest relating to South and South-East Asia. Notices of institutions, scholars and artists appear in Section IV (A) and (B). Accounts of as many as nine exhibitions, one at Prague, another at New York, and the rest in India occur in Section V. Four notices on Arts and Crafts have been gathered for Section VI. A miscelleny of contemporary ballet in Ceylon, indigenous games in India, a critique of modern Indian art, extracts relating to a vanishing aboriginal tribe, the Kurubas, a small notice on a resuscitated traditional dance, (Navasandhi), study of the impact of Community Development program on the Bhils of Khed Brahma in the Aravali ranges of India, an account of traditional ritual decorative art, and a resume of investigations made for new remedies from Indian medical plants appear in this Section VII. Notes and News of general cultural interest and reviews of books follow in the next two Sections VIII and IX. The sources of information are indicated in the relevant places.

The Institute is indebted to all the governmental and non-governmental persons and institutions who have helped in the compilation of this number by sending their publications and answering enquiries.

The Institute owes its continuance to grants from Unesco through the Research Council of the India International Centre, New Delhi and from the Government of India. To the University of Madras and its esteemed Vice-Chancellor (Dr. Sir A. Lakshmanaswami Mudaliar) who is the President of the Institute, this Institute is indebted in no small measure. The University accommodates the Institute in its buildings, and provides it with other amenities; its large academic staff in its various Research Depart-

ments in the Humanities offer their hearty cooperation in the work of the Institute. The University also gives, as usual, financial help equivalent to the cost of printing the two issues of the *Bulletin* for the year. The Executive Committee has given much ready help in the management of the Institute both on its administrative and academic sides.

Madras, K. A. NILAKANTA SASTRI,
Date: 15th July, 1965. *Director.*

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SECTION I: ARTICLES

DEMOCRACY: BRITAIN AND INDIA

By

DR. N. SUBRAHMANIAN

(*Lecturer in Indian History, University of Madras*)

(This paper allied to an earlier one by the same author and published in Part I of this Bulletin for 1964 is a sound analysis of the concept of democracy and a penetrative study of its contrasting traditions in Britain and India—Ed.)

In continuation of my study of the concept of 'Freedom in relation to France and India' which appeared in the pages of this bulletin some time ago,[1] I wish to consider 'Democracy in relation to Britain and India', now. The relevance of this study to our traditional culture will be evident, and will be my guiding principle, in the course of this essay. I shall endeavour, here, to give (a) a very brief account of democracy in Britain, (b) compare it with its vicissitudes in India, and (c) enquire into the causes for the differences which will become thereby apparent, and as a necessary preliminary to this three-pronged enquiry recapitulate some fundamental ideas about democracy.

'Democracy' is so universally and frequently used a term in modern times that the chances of its being properly employed or well understood have become fairly remote. The habit of changing connotation and wishful interpretation, which has affected many basic ideas germane to civilization and culture, has tortured 'democracy' too, to suit the interests of different times and differing minds. The Athenians of old were temperamentally good 'democrats' and a tradition of political preoccupation governed the behaviour of the Greek citizens; but then the word itself (a Greek one) meant something very different from what it means today and to us. It was direct democracy operated by a selective citi-

1. *Bulletin*, 1964, Pt. I, pp. 23-32.

zenry in the context of a city-state of modest dimensions, unworkable in the modern nation state. Plato had little patience with that democracy, and Aristotle equated it with the rule of the 'vulgar' and preferred 'polity'. Historically a repetition of those times was not to be. The Roman senate was the representative assembly (of the Patricians) *par-excellence* and the best among them, who achieved national and imperial wonders which the contemporary world feared and submitted to, and posterity envied, yet admired and tried to emulate, were not 'common' men. Republican (non-monarchical) and aristocratic traditions of a sort prevailed in medieval Europe in the Italian commercial cities of the Mediterranean and later in the Germanic cities of the Baltic; but these were oligarchies which while theoretically despising and discarding the hereditary principle, also held the masses in control and in contempt, though governing them well enough. These are reminiscent of the Republican clans which ran governments in tribal states at the foot of the Eastern Himalayas and at the dawn of Indian political history.

But modern democracy, as is well known, functions through representative bodies chosen by adult suffrage, and it may be realised that such representation is only for the purpose of legislation and top executive direction, and cannot be for bureacratic administration or judicial procedure. Humanity has reconciled itself to the thought that while the latter offices require to be manned by experts, the former do not. The soundness of this idea need not be examined here; but it is noteworthy that the area of direct citizen participation in governmental affairs has progressively shrunk till it has become nominal and periodical. Tammany tactics, gerrymandering and other corrupt practices can affect the impact of even that occasional participation so that party government has largely undone democracy and created opportunities for substituting personal profiteering under the safe and expansive cloak of party discipline, for the welfare of one's fellow-beings. The party bosses once installed in power are either unwilling or unable to dismount the political tigers; in either case the citizen body having got into the habit of thinking and speaking through representatives loses, by a sort of Darwinian law, the ability to think politically or speak for itself; this situation if it grows and gets stabilized can result in numerous new despotisms. Bryce lamented: "Party organizations, democratic in theory and in their outward power, have been selfish oligarchies worked by professio-

nal politicians."[2] This can be obviated, of course, if a nation takes care not to forget that in the final analysis the general body of the citizens is the sovereign and that the representatives shall be regularly and if necessary sharply reminded that they have a master to whom they are answerable, and who can if they so desire turn them in and out of office and at their pleasure; i.e., this is achieved by keeping public opinion alive and active. If none was for a party and all were for the state, that would indicate an ideal political condition which would presuppose the existence of the political sense in a nation, the political sense which knows to use the party device as but a barometer for reading the pressure of public opinion. The political sense like the historical sense (the sense of criticism), and the scientific spirit (the insatiable urge for curiosity), must *naturally subsist* in a people and cannot be entirely *acquired or cultivated.* Thus one sees that democracy succeeds simply and naturally among some people while it fumbles, bungles and looks very foolish elsewhere, i.e., the form of government (including the spirit in which it is run) prevailing among a people is largely conditioned by their character as well as by their heritage. It is not often enough remembered that the history of a people and their character shape each other to a considerable degree. This was long ago epigrammatized as "every nation has the government that it deserves."[3]

This facile line of argument, however, must not tempt us into the conclusion that party government necessarily is evil; that conclusion will rest entirely on a confusion of issues, for he that says that parties corrupt democracy forgets that parties are corrupted (if at all) by the character of those who operate them and participate in their doings. It is inevitable in the modern state of large size and growing population, for representative democracy to be managed by the communication of public opinion through party channels well demarcated and pronounced by programmes and manifestos, on the basis of which the electors choose their representatives. No doubt the air is full of talk about partyless democracies though of course no one seems to know what these mean, or how unless the city state or its Indian counterpart of the autonomous panchāyat is reestablished it is ever possible to get rid of

2. Bryce, Lord: *Modern Democracies*, II, p. 169.
3. Joseph De Maistre: *Letter on the Subject of Russia*, 1811.

parties. Hence it is futile to talk about the evil of party government even as it is to talk about the evil of government itself; for in an imperfect world the highest wisdom consists in accepting and living with the least evil.

The word 'democracy' itself has become a status symbol among the nations of the world, except among the honest folk called the Nazis (and the Fascists, their spiritual mentors) who candidly condemned it. With the liquidation of that brood, we are left with those who agree on 'democracy' being a desirable ideal but differ in defining it. A straightforward dictatorship tells its subjects that they are not good enough for liberal parliamentary democracy of the British type; another creates a situation in which the pastoral process of the shepherd guiding the flock is held up as ideal political behaviour. Peoples' democracies in communist countries are well known and they jeer at liberal democracy and insist that economic democracy i.e., the attainment of economic egalitarianism is the goal of the truest brand of 'democracy'; there are numerous other newly evolving states in Afrasia which go on shifting the definition of democracy to suit their political predilections.

But if one sheds casuistry it is easy to see that 'liberal democracy' alone is genuine democracy. I do not object to this being called my prejudice, but I also am convinced that this is the least objectionable of all prejudices on the matter. It is to be admitted that the support for democracy begins as a heresy and ends as a superstition and at both ends is irrational. But so long as man is left with some reason and is credited with the ability to know what is good for him, liberal democracy involving liberty of the individual can be the only civilised ideal for him; any curtailment of that liberty even can be justified only on the ground of securing a larger measure of that freedom for a larger number of people.

Those who wish to emphasise the economic goals of democracy have been effectively answered by C. E. M. Joad: "The charge that political democracy is empty and ineffective since it does not *entail* economic democracy is without foundation. Of course it does not, nor should it entail economic democracy unless the majority of the people want and will it; but if they want and will it, it provides the instrument whereby their will can be made effective. If they do not desire to use the instrument for that pur-

pose, the fact is not an argument against political democracy; it means merely that this is not as yet a change which the majority demands."[4] So it would be proper to hold these two ideals of securing freedom and securing food as distinct ones and not to be held one at the expense of the other or as two inextricably interrelated ideals. In a democracy, the government (i.e, the executive) should not try to educate the people, but should reflect public opinion; the democratic argument is based on the assumption that the people generally know what they want and that in the name of doing good to them, their wishes must not be thwarted. This naturally leads us to the further conclusion that a politically uneducated people (or even a literally illiterate people), or a people consciously educated into upholding undemocratic values cannot constitute effective citizenry in a democratic polity.

The tradition of confusing equality with liberty is as old at least as the French Revolution; it still confounds all discussion on democracy. But the explanation for this confusion lies in the democratic theory itself. According to that theory, decisions are taken by majority vote and therein the principle of equality is inherent. That is, the absurdity which results from the possibility of a majority in a group being nitwits and able to have their way against a possible wise minority; or a majority of weaklings (being even collectively weaker physically, morally or intellectually) have a ballot victory over a possible minority of giants, is resolved theoretically by the assumption that the group consists of men of equal calibre. This being almost always impossible, basically the democractic theory suffers. The emphasis on liberty which liberal democracy implies is a mark of civilization and culture while the difficulties in overcoming the possibilities of a 'vulgar' majority riding roughshod over a sensitive and cultivated minority are numerous. Thus it is always essential that the explicit emphasis should be on liberty while the implicit assumption shall be in regard to equality: like each one having one vote and each vote having the same value as any other.

In the home of liberal democracy and the mother of parliaments, the whole history of the struggle for democracy and the rights of the citizen was different and unparalleled elsewhere.

4. Joad, C. E. M.: *The Principles of Parliamentary Democracy*, p. 38.

This history was a continuous political game in which in 1215 the noblemen and the church compelled the king to 'sign' a 'magna carta' of liberties; then, with the commercial community of the common people coming up, the king, if he was to survive at all, had to line up with the people as against the nobility and the church. The church was deflated in three stages: Henry II, Edward I and Henry VIII. Part of the nobility perished in the hundred years war; another part destroyed itself in the Wars of the Roses; the Star Chamber accounted for the rest. Most of the Tudors used the people against the nobility and the church and when the Stuart age dawned, the commons and the king remained in the field and faced each other, though, of course, there were still important but slowly declining pockets of aristocracy here and there. 1688 put royalty in its proper place but left many of its prerogatives untouched. Thereafter in Britain it was a long story of adjustment between the crown, the nobility and the commonalty. The end of this patient process of accommodation came in the twenties of the present century when constitutional monarchy of a fairly ideal sort got established: a respected but a self-effacing monarchy, an influential nobility with drastically curtailed political powers, and a supreme House of Commons which does not boast about its supremacy, together constitute the sovereign according to the unwritten constitution of a freedom loving people. This picture has taken a thousand years to evolve. There has been no major destruction of institutions; on the other hand there has been bargaining and accommodation. In the 19th and 20th centuries the chief aim has been to make the popular will effective without violently changing existing institutions. This could be achieved by the British largely because they were not theoretical but pragmatic in their approach to all social and political problems. If any one idea has been a guiding principle with them, it was the passion for liberty, especially of the individual. They never destroyed a thing whose continued existence did no harm; they never introduced an innovation before its time. In fact, parliamentary reform of 1832 and Catholic emancipation came long after they had become due. They never ate more than they could digest. They built an empire when they thirsted for adventure; they shed it when they were weary. This history, and this attitude of mind which fashioned this history when compared to those of India will show why democracy in India has to weather storms unknown to the English climate.

In India the whole concept of democracy came as a stranger from a strange land; its references were good, but its serviceability under changed conditions was not doubted as it should have been. The idea of 'the common people' of democracy was misunderstood in India when the constituents of the British House of Commons were mistaken for 'men in the street'. They are not. The British commons are a peculiar mixture of nobility and commonalty. The principle of primogeniture left the other sons of a noblemen free to find their way into the lower house. Pitt, the great commoner, himself was one such. So the Commons and the Lords had much in common in the national life of England, and were not perpetually at war, as it were; they were on the other hand complementary and needed each other. A similar cross-section never existed in Indian society and so the abolition of the aristocratic elements—the ruling princes and the landed aristocracy—left the literally common men undisputed master of the political field, while the handful of western educated intellectuals fled the scene, shut themselves up in an ivied tower and bewailed the change. This situation naturally compelled the popular government of India to assume responsibilities unknown to British liberal democracy.

A confusion between democracy and radicalism, again, is another feature of the political thought of Afrasia today and India was one of the earliest to queer the pitch for 'radical democracy' in this area. The attempt to rear a brave new world overnight and to inscribe the dream in a ponderous document marked the beginning of modern Indian political wisdom. A radical is not a very practical person, and as F. D. Roosevelt said, 'he has both his feet planted firmly in the air'. In Britain, the gradual shift from artistocracy to democracy helped to retain the paternalism characteristic of the earlier tradition and graft it on to the newer individualism which jointly formed a sound basis for the retention of the older institutions like the crown and the House of Lords as also the growth of the new democracy. This need for continuous adjustment between tradition and progress has persuaded the British to wisely refrain from committing themselves to 'ideals'.

The transition to democracy is necessarily a deliberately slow and cautious process involving equal and simultaneous attention to the growth of all the constituents of that system which is not only a form of government but also a way of life. It is not possible to have a democratic governmental polity in an essentially non-

democratic social environment. If this process is hustled or strained, one will conquer the other. To obviate this contingency, in Britain their parliamentary democracy and the requisite national scheme for education were developed *pari passu*. The history of the 19th century England will make this clear. When the first quarter of that century had passed, widening education and growing parliamentary reform began to mark the rest of the century. Waterloo had removed Napoleon and cleared Europe; and Peterloo had exposed Wellington and started England on a new career. Among the forces which were at work building the mind of the British nation, the utilitarians (Bentham, Mill, etc.), the Idealists (T. H. Green of Oxford and others) and the Individualists like Livingstone, Richard Burton and the two Lawrences etc., were memorable. The last group is particularly significant because they believed in "liberty not equality, competition not regulation", their motto was: "God helps most those who help themselves"—one that was directly opposed to state socialism in which "the state assumes the role of providence but helps most those who least help themselves".

The principle of equality, too, did gain a certain favour in the 19th century England. But it was not associated so much with democratc philosophy as with humanitarian ideals like altering the harsh penal code, abolition of slavery, etc.

In this frame of mind, 1832 saw the first reform of parliament. Till 1867, reform was dormant but the interval had made further reform inevitable. From the second Reform Bill of 1867 onwards, education of the masses and reform of Parliament went hand in hand. After the fall of Napoleon, a series of new public schools came in and set up fresh high standards of education and scholastic discipline. The Endowed Schools Act of 1869 came two years after the second Reform Bill. The Education Acts of 1870, 1876, 1902 and 1918 ran parallel to and kept pace with the Reform Acts of 1867, 1884, 1911. Before the 1911 reform of Parliament, the Technical Education Act was passed in 1890 and the Board of Education had been set up in 1899. "During the 20 years after Dr. Arnold's death many new public schools—Marlborough, Cheltenham, Haileybury, etc.—followed the discipline and broader ranges of study which Arnold had given to Rugby. From the sons of the upper middle class and professional class trained in the schools came the human material which could be turned to the

benefit of the State."[5] This was the experience of Britain; and therefore 'freedom could broaden there from precedent to precedent'; but it came to India like a cloudburst and tended rather to upset things than set up anything worth while in the many social and political vacuums which the new idealism was creating.

The triple principles of education, democracy and equality joined to create the later Victorian cultural value system which contemporary India accepted and held dear. 1857 was a crude bid to return to pre-British values. During the interval between 1857 and 1947 liberalism, terrorism, pacifism and socialism had been in turn in fashion, and when freedom arrived, the first three had departed leaving the last one in the field; and so though India adopted the Parliamentary democratic system of government, it could function only subject to the socialist commitments of the rulers of free India, and therefore had to grow on lines sharply different from the British.

Jawaharlal Nehru was not unaware of the risk that the country was taking when in 1950 the entire adult humanity in India was enfranchised. In 1958, he remarked: "In other countries real full blooded political democracy came after a good deal of education had spread, because of the economic revolution and all that which had prepared the ground for it, which had added to the resources of the country and thereby made it easier to fulfill the demands made by the people in those countries. In most Asian countries, on the other hand, particularly in India, we have taken a huge jump to hundred percent political democracy without the wherewithal to supply the demand which a politically conscious electorate makes..'[6] The real difficulty which our illiterate or uneducated citizen creates in a democratic situation is that it is natural for him to give his loyalty to the government as if it was monarchical and clothed with divine authority to rule over him. The words of Walter Bagehot, written in another context, admirably define the attitude of the average illiterate voter of free India: "Now that the suffrage is universal, the average intellect and the average culture of the constituent bodies are exceedingly low; and even such mind and culture as there is has long been

5. Feiling, Keith: *A History of England*, p. 899.

6. Nehru, J.: *Parliamentary Democracy in the New Age: Journal of Parliamentary Information, Lok Sabha Secretariat*, April, 1958, p. 3.

enslaved to authority... He is far too ignorant to check and watch his parliament, and far too timid to think of doing either if the executive authority nearest to him did not like it."[7] There are two dangers, which complement each other, present in such a situation: the democratic majority in such a polity tends to become a despot and the citizenry in its turn sustains that despotism by its posture of genuflection; these are the natural consequences of a lack of an informed, critical and assertive public opinion. This tendency for democratic majorities to spurn compromises and turn despotic is all the greater in traditionally undemocratic societies like, the Hindu society.

The newly enfranchised adult's mind (be it illiterate and uneducated or literate and uneducated) functions in a sort of twilight when things are vaguely comprehended but never clearly seen; he has but a crude 'common sense' to guide him; then leaders crop up to think and judge for him; and they make promises like "the impudent mountebank who sold pills which were very good against earthquakes". Common sense quails before this organised and irresistible leadership to which it duly succumbs. When asked about the population of England, Carlyle said "Thirty millions, mostly fools". This is true of all countries, only the demographic figures will vary.

The complex of native forces of a non-democratic nature arrayed against modern democracy in India has been formidable, nay, invincible. When frank, uninhibited and violent reaction against reform (opposed to tradition and status quo), equality (opposed to caste and hierarchy), the dignity of the individual (opposed to the authority of the group) and the rule of law (opposed to personal government) failed in 1857, the alternative was to use these western democratic institutions to defeat western democratic spirit and the way of life that breathes that spirit. What happened after 1857 was not a change in the goal but in the instruments to achieve it: like a constitutional apparatus being used to destroy that constitution.

It is necessary to know why Hindu tradition is allergic to liberal democracy. It has been observed that "Hindu culture differs from that of the West, not only in its religious observances

7. Bagehot, W.: *The English Constitution.*

or in particular customs, but in the pattern and texture of its social life and in the basic ideas which underlie them".[8] The basic institution in Hindu Sociology is the family and not the individual: the family (i.e. the joint family) supports the doctrine of paternalism and the divine right theory is closely associated with it. The authoritarianism of the *pater familias* produced the same effect on the character and personality of the individual member of the family as the 'divine' king affects the 'subject', i.e. the individuality (which rests on the right to differ) is the first casualty where authority is held sacred. This is in very sharp contrast to the English social situation: George Santayana observed: "England is the paradise of individuality, eccentricity, heresy, anomalies, hobbies and humours".[9]

Hindu social and personal life is traditionally controlled by the 'Dharma', which 'is ultimately God given and removed from popular interpretation and appeal'.[10] If the law is equated with popular will, as the democratic theory does, a conflict between the two concepts arises. The ideas of natural law and equity are based on the dictates of human conscience (and not social or political exigencies as statute law is) but even they are different from 'Dharma' which is beyond human crticism. To quote Drekmeier: "'Dharma', precludes the equality in civil rights essential to a spirit of citizen participation, and tends to exalt the *status quo*".[11] The influence of Dharma on Hindu Sociology is pervasive, deep and abiding. "The conception of Dharma has been taken to sanctify the existing social order with all the inequality that is implied in the hierarchical arrangement. Instead of making an attempt to actualise the ideal and translate the ideal in institutional terms, the actual has been idealised. Such an attitude makes inevitably for conservatism and kills the spirit of critical examination. There is to be no analysis of the very foundations of the social order. By connecting the state with Dharma, the distinction between the actual and the ideal is ignored: and the state is placed beyond the range of criticism".[12] This is, however, deemed to be

8. Spear, T. G. P.: *India*, pp. 19, 20.
9. Santayana, George: *Soliloquies in England: The British Character.*
10. Drekmeier, Charles: *Kingship and Community in Ancient India*, p. 10.
11. *Ibid.*: p. 9.
12. Anjaria: *Public Administration in Ancient India*, p. 184.

an extreme and hostile position by some respectable scholars who have defended the role of the Dharma.

K. V. Rangaswami Aiyangar, explaining the role of the Dharma in its relation to public policy says, "Innate quality and potentiality are related; so Dharma is taken to be the mean between the ideal and the possible. . .*whatever is* enjoined by authority or the inward promptings of conscience is Dharma".[13] But there is a snag in the last idea quoted above: *jāti dharma, varṇa dharma, Āśrama Dharma,* etc., are fixed by external authority and need not reflect the internal promptings of any but a very inert conscience and so are likely to operate as a despotic coercive factor in restricting the individual's freedom of willing and striving towards goals of his choice. It is not suggested that submission to authority is undesirable or freedom of personal choice tends invariably to happiness. But it is relevant to note that invariable deferance to authority as a philosophy of life (personal or social) is a negation of democracy. Hindu scholars wriggle out of this difficulty by characteristically interpreting the meaning of democracy *de novo.* "Democracy" writes Dr. Radhakrishnan, "is so interpreted as to justify not only the very legitimate aspiration to bring about a more equitable distribution of wealth, but also the increasing tendency for a levelling down of all talent . . . It is not true that all men are born equal in every way, and every one is equally fit to govern the country or till the ground".[14] These views have been justly commented upon by Drekmeir: "In the modern world, however, the functional classification of mankind is defensible only if each individual is granted the opportunity to choose the life that can assist him in realizing the potential of his personality".[15] It emerges from this dialogue, that personality and the freedom to realise its potential are secular concepts alien to the whole complex of Hindu Dharma.

To a people to whom law was divine, to be interpreted and not enlarged or abridged, legislation by discussion was unnatural. It is true that in India legislation by discussion is now occurring, in fact there is quite a plethora of it. But the cream of the matter is that because of the tradition of treating Dharma as beyond

13. Rangaswami Aiyangar, K. V.: *Rajadharma,* pp. 25 etc.

14. Radhakrishnan, S.: *The Hindu View of Life.*

15. Drekmeier, Charles: *op.cit.*

human criticism, even current legislation is considered either rejectable because it is man made or worthy of worship because it is 'law'. The habit of taking a simply 'legal' view of 'law' refuses to take root. The constitution was 'revealed' by the wisdom of a few political 'seers' in 1950; later it became the Dharma, which was to be interpreted by the priestly community (i.e. the élite of the ruling party to which the original 'seers' belonged) and not open to 'vulgar' discussion. This view fully conforms to tradition.

Drekmeier says: "The egalitarian ideal, save possibly for Buddhist thought never asserted itself in Indian thought as it did in the West. As in the case of civil rights, so also with the more specific rights of the citizen. The concept of citizen participation has little meaning in Hindu society. For all practical purposes we are justified in saying that civil obligation rather than civil right formed the basis of the relations of state and subject. We must never look past the fact, however, that there always existed for the Hindu, as for the western liberal, a criterion about the state by which its actions could be justified. It was not the idea of the sanctity of the individual personality or the association: it was sacred law and tradition".[16] It is a commendable effort to discover a basis for Hindu sociology, and if possible justify it in absolute terms. But from Drekmeier's statement of the fact, it is clear that democracy is based on liberal premises while Hinduism rests on "the sacred law and tradition"; and the two are rather incompatible.

Again, in Hindu social life, in the hierarchical arrangements (or where such are absent, the sense of hierarchy), the sense of imposition, though the imposition may not be felt or meant, is predominant; and the sense of participation is absent. The respect for authority is not the result of a reasoned and disciplined realisation of the need for avoiding undue frictions, irksome delays and avoidable confusions and ensuring easy implementation of agreed policies; but that deference becomes a reverence for authority *per se;* and authority easily gets confused with the person who currently (for the nonce) wields it; so that, government by law easily becomes government by person and consequently the rule of law becomes incomprehensible and personal government unobjectionable.

16. *Ibid.*

Caste, as is well known, is the very antithesis of liberal tradition; for it strikes at the very root of individuality. The pluralism of the Hindus, associated with social stratification, could not encourage individuality because of the complete identification of the person with his social role, while the pluralism of the liberal includes "the possibilities of plural group associations for each individual — not simply the existence of multiple associations".[17] Caste is the barrier which obstructs Hindu vision of non-Hindu values, as well as non-Hindu appreciation of Hindu difficulties in this matter. In so far as caste (in its entirety) is exclusive to Hindu India, this congestion in the traffic of minds also occurs only in the case of India's relations with the rest of the world.

It is necessary also to remember that in our group behaviour too, the norms are *sui generis;* "the Indian village community shows us a state of society to which, though it is an orderly and well settled one, Bentham's or Austin's definition are applicable only by doing extreme violence to language".[18]

The modern objection to the whole scheme of Hindu sociology is brought out well in Drekmeier: "It assumes (at least for the lower state of society) that moral behaviour is possible only through coercion and conformity. In this view, there can be no real moral choice on the part of the masses".[19] That is why Spear said, "Apply democratic principles to India and the results are surprising, because the Hindu doctrine of man is different from the European concept".[20]

According to me, the democratic way presupposes three fundamental ideas: 1. That the individual in the Political Society is anxious, and is prepared to exert himself to assure, that he is left with enough freedom to make real and meaningful choices in life; 2. that to gain that end he realises the need for compromise; and 3. that to effectuate these compromises he is willing to abide by the decisions of an agency agreed to by a majority in the political society. This surely makes concepts like unanimity (absence of opposition) and intolerance of non-conformism alien to the democratic concept.

17. *Ibid.*
18. Pollock, Sir. F.: *Essays in Jurisprudence,* Preface.
19. Drekmeier, Charles: *op.cit.*
20. Spear, T. G. P.: *India, Pakistan and the West,* p. 25.

Of all the wise things which Acton said, the most relevent for us now is that 'power corrupts'. It is erroneous to imagine that power exercised through democratic channels will not corrupt. The consciousness of passing power renders the possessor thereof more conscious of it. A permanent tenure of power as in the case of a reasonable hereditary monarch would not lead to urgent and hasty abuse of fleeting power; and one of the ways in which tentative power can be corrupt is by seeking to perpetuate itself, anyhow.

In the Hindu society, democratically elected leaders have little chance against charismatic leadership. It was not a mere accident that Gandhi, the greatest and the most successful of the leaders in recent times in India, refused to be drawn into 'government'. If Charism is necessary for leadership in India, parliamentary institutions will find it difficult to function as they do in Britain.

The Maharaja of Benares said in 1888: "Democracy is an occidental idea. A Hindu cannot comprehend it as long as he is a Hindu. It is against his religious belief. So long as Hindus remain in Hindustan, you cannot succeed in extending the democratical idea".[21] After a lapse of nearly 76 years, Karan Singh, Sadar-i-Raiyasat of Kashmir, speaking under the auspices of the Bhāratīya Vidyā Bhavan in Bombay, called Indian democracy a 'Namke vaste Democracy' (a nominal democracy). But Indian democracy has come to be known as the largest democracy in the world, in the sense that its electoral roll is the largest. Of course, patriotic sentiment persuades Indians to claim absolute success for democratic and parliamentary institutions in India. In fact Indian patriotism wavers between an affirmation of the unique value of Hindu tradition and admiringly upholding democratic values. But the patriotic motive is often extraneous to the job of discovering the truth. The cynic is within his rights in protesting: "What, after all, is patriotism but the sentimental attachment of dust to dust?". That, therefore, must not blind one to obvious facts.

The following observation of a recent observer of Indian affairs is forthright: "Democracy as a system had no roots in India,

21. Quoted by Griffiths, *The British in India*, p. 136.

but only an intellectual and emotional appeal to the westernised middle class which expected to gain from it what had been denied them by British 'tyranny'. The fact that parliamentary institutions seem to work in India has deluded many in the West into believing that these were Britain's most seminal legacy and that, because of them, India is the world's largest democracy. But these institutions exist only by the consent of those who profit from them, and even these are fundamentally distorted by self-interest. India's acceptance of democracy—and her toleration of it—is based not on any fundamental belief in its moral virtue, but in the fact that as yet it does not inhibit the enjoyment of power by the ruling class".[22] This indictment is likely to sound very uncharitable to many Indian ears. The Indian political caravan passes, leaving the Cassandras behind, but where is it heading to?

Those who, however, expect democracy to flourish in India at least in the future base that expectation on the belief that an effective and corrective opposition and a healthy public opinion anxious to maintain and uphold liberal democratic traditions, would arise some day. They remind the 'pessimists' (who no doubt call themselves 'realists') of Dumas' dictum: Wait and Hope.

22. Edwards, Michael: *The Last Years of British India*, p. 229.

THE CULT OF SAKTI IN TAMILNAD*

By

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(Dr. Mahalingam wrote on the Naga Cult in India in the Bulletin for 1957. Here he makes a study of another ancient and widely popular cult in India, the Sakti cult, in the light of literary and archaeological evidences. The study is confined to Tamilnad. —Ed.).

The cult of Śakti in one or other of her different manifestations and forms has been widely popular in India through the ages. Literary and archaeological evidences suggest that her cult was the result of the fusion of several cults with their local ramifications but based on similar mythological conceptions. It has two aspects, the dynamic or the ferocious aspect and the benign or the beneficent aspect. In her ferocious aspect, she is differently called Chaṇḍī, Chāmuṇḍā, Kāli, Kapālinī, Satī etc., and in her benign aspect, Bhavānī, Vijayā, Dēvī, Umā, Gaurī etc., though all of them became fused in course of time into a single goddess, the consort of Śiva. This process or coalescence of different elements into the one great goddess was neither sudden nor sweeping but a gradual one that took many centuries for completion. The existence of a sort of disparity among the different elements of the goddess even so late as the Gupta period is evident from the *Devīmāhātmya*.[1] In the development of beliefs regarding her varied aspects and the process of the coalescence of various local divinities into a homogeneous goddess different regions in India have contributed their share; and among them the Tamil country in the extreme south is not the least significant.

* A paper read at the Seminar on the Origin and Evolution of Sakti on 9th April at the Calcutta University under the auspices of the U.G.C. Centre for advanced centre for Ancient Indian History and Culture.

1. The *Dēvīmāhātmya* (the Glorification of the Great Goddess) is a part of the *Mārkaṇḍēyapurāṇa* and assignable to about the fourth century, A.D.

See V. S. Agrawala, *The Glorification of the Great Goddess*, p. iv.

The currency of the Śakti cult in its different aspects in Tamilnad even in the early centuries of the Christian era is amply indicated in early Tamil literature—the Sangam Classics. Among the many names of Sakti in these works are Amari, Kumari, Gauri, Śamari, Śūli, Nīli, Aiyai (Āryā), Śeyyavaḷ, Koṟṟavai, Nallāḷ, Kaṉṉi, Śankari etc. Of these the name Kumari may be taken to indicate her virgin character. It is of interest in this connection to note the remarks of the author of the *Periplus of the Erythraean Sea* (circa 60-80 A.D.) about her worship in the extreme South of India: "Beyond this there is another place called Comari, at which are the Cape of the Camari and a harbor; hither come those men who wish to consecrate themselves for the rest of their lives, and bathe and dwell in celibacy and women also do the same; for it is told that a goddess once dwelt here and bathed".[2] Obviously this is a reference to the Goddess of Kanyakumari in the extreme south of the peninsula. The main features of her worship are well borne out by the evidence. The *Mahābhārata* narrates that "as Gaurī, she (Durgā) is the sister of Vasudēva and in this form she inhabits the southern mountains".[3] This virgin goddess of the south—Kanyākumari—has been identified with the Śakti of Śiva in the *Taittīriya Āraṇyaka*.

Besides revealing her marked Śaiva associations the Śangam literature refers to a few other aspects of Sakti and describes in same detail her iconographic features. Koṟṟavai was clearly recognised to be the consort of Śiva; and this is apparent from reference to her in the *Perumbāṇāṟṟuppaḍai*[4] and *Tirumurugāṟṟuppaḍai*.[5] The fomer calls her the great mother of Muruga and the latter describes Muruga as the son of *Malaimagal* (*i.e.*, Parvatakanyā or Pārvatī).

According to the *Tolkāppiyam*, the earliest Tamil grammatical work, Koṟṟavai was the goddess of the region of *Pālai*. The Eyiṉar of *Pālai* worshipped her and sacrificed buffaloes at her temples. Peacocks and parrots, fowls, sandal, grains and oblations of rice with flesh and blood were offered to her, the *Śilappadikāram* adds.[6]

2. *The Periplus of the Erythraean Sea*, Ed. Schoff, p. 46.
3. Hopkins, *Epic Mythology*, p. 224.
4. Ll., 457-59.
5. Ll., 258-59.
6. xii, 22-39.

Her hair was matted; her apparel consisted of skins of a tiger and a cobra and her ornaments included the carved tusk of the boar in the hair like a crescent, string of tiger's teeth, bow, drums, pipes etc., while a stag was her vehicle. The *Śilappadikāram* says that she was so much dreaded, that when once the doors of her shrine could not be opened the Pāṇḍya king felt that it was due to the divine displeasure and sought her mercy by the grant of the revenue of two villages for her worship.[7] She is described in the *Perumbāṇāṟṟuppaḍai*[8] as *Tunangaiyamcelvi i.e.,* one who dances the *tunangai* dance. That she was taught a few poses in dancing by she-devils is gleaned from the *Kalittogai*[9] and the *Tolkāppiyam.*[10] The *Śilappadikāram*[11] speaks of a particular variety of her dance called *Marakkālāṭṭam* during which she assumed legs of wood and fought with the *asuras.* The *Padiṟṟuppattu* speaks of her as a goddess of victory—*Veṟṟimaḍantai*—with her shelter in the *vākai* tree. The *Kuruntogai* calls her Śūli, *i.e.,* the wielder of the trident.[12]

The description of the goddess as Araṇyāni or the goddess of forests in the Rig Veda (X, 146) is found reflected in early Tamil literature. She is spoken of as the denizen of the forest and called *Kānamarśelvi* in the *Ahanāṉūṟu,*[13] *Kaduraikaḍavuḷ* in the *Porunarāṟṟuppaḍai,*[14] and *Kādamarśelvi* in the *Maṇimēkalai,* while according to the *Iraiyaṉār Ahapporuḷ* and the commentary of Pērāśiriyar of the *Tolkāppiyam* there was in the *Paripāḍal* a poem on *Kaḍukaḷ* which is taken to be a corruption of *Kaḍukiḻal* which according to *Takkayāgapparaṇi* was the same as *Kānanadi* or Vana Durgā. The forest goddess had a few more alternative names like *Mōti* and *Karitāy* (the black mother). In the *Manimēkalai* she is described as standing with a beggar's bowl alleviating the hunger of the devils. Her temple is adjacent to the burial ground and has gates on the four sides and an altar in the middle. In the *Poruḷatikāram* of *Tolkāppiyam* she is mentioned as *Kāḍukeḻucelvi* in connection with the celebration of *Paraṇināl* on the second day of the lunar month and honoured with *tunangai* dance. Interest-

7. xx, 37-40 and xxiii, 113-125.
8. Line, 459.
9. 89:8.
10. Meyp; Sutra, 12, Per.
11. vii, 59.
12. 218:1.
13. 345:3-7.
14. Line, 52.

ingly there are certain evil aspects of the forest spirit also. The story of Kōvalan's departure to Madurai with Kaṇṇaki through a forest and the unsuccessful attempt of a forest spirit to win him over narrated in the *Śilappadīkāram,* is an example. The much later devotional hymns of the *Tēvāram* collection also allude to the forest aspect of Durga.

A good account of the nature of Durgā's cult and her iconography is found in the *Vēttuvavari* in the *Śilappadikāram.* She is described as "having a body, the colour (dark blue) of which resembles that of a flower of the *kaya* (Memecylon edule), lips red like the coral, teeth white and the neck dark, with a third eye on the crescent like forehead, holding the discus and conch, sword and *śūla* (spear) and the bow which was the *mēru* (*neḍumalai*) strung with the snake *Vāsuki* as its *ñāṇ* (bow-string) wearing the skin of a tiger and a belt (*mēkalai*) of lion's skin, a *kalal* (hero's calf-band) on one leg and *śilambu* (woman's anklet) on the other, with the coiffure of *jaṭā* adorned by a serpent and the crescent moon, covering herself with the hide of the elephant as *uttarīya* (*ēkāśam*), wearing a snake as her breast-band (*kaccu*), carrying a standard of lion (*āḷikkoḍi*)".[15] The form of Durgā standing on the severed head of a buffalo—a form which is often met with in her South Indian sculptural representations from early times—is also described in the *Śilappadikāram.*[16] The same work speaks also of her fight with the asuras, her killing Dāruka and Mahishāsura, kicking the *śakaṭa* and walking over the *marudam* (*Arjuna*) tree. Her swallowing poison in the manner of Śiva and her making him dance also find mention in it. She is also described as occupying half the body of Śiva which is a clear indication of the Ardhanārī concept. All these details and descriptions unmistakably point to the Śaiva character of her cult in the first few centuries of the Christian era.

In spite of such almost prolific literary references to the cult of Śakti in Tamilnad the earliest sculptural representatations of and extant shrines dedicated to her are not earlier than the seventh century A.D. It appears that before the beginning of the seventh century temples were built of impermanent material which could not withstand the ravages of time, and it was Pallava Mahēndra-

15. *Journal of the Madras University,* Vol. XXXII, No. 1, p. 152.
16. xx, 34-35.

varman (610-630 A.D.) who heralded the fresh movement of carving out shrines in live rocks. In his Mandagappattu cave inscription this king proudly declares that he carved out a shrine for the Trimurtis without the use of the traditional material like brick, timber, metal or mortar and calls himself *Vichitracitta* or the curious or inventive minded.[17] It can therefore be presumed that temples for Durga were built even in the pre-Pallava days and that they were made of perishable material that have succumbed to the ravages of time. In fact in the story of *Śakkravāḷakkoṭṭam* in the *Maṇimēkalai* we hear of a temple (*kōṭṭam*) for Durgā. Of the Pallava monuments the *Kōḍikālmaṇḍapam* at Mahabalipuram, stylistically assignable to the period of Māmalla Narasimhavarman I (630-668) and his son Paramēśvaravarman I (670-690), appears to be intended for Durgā as may be gleaned from the bas-relief sculptures of *dvārapālikas* flanking the shrine entrances.[18] The Y*āḷi maṇḍapam* (Tiger Cave) of the time of Rājasimha Narasimhavarman II (690-727) at Saluvankuppam near Mahabalipuram is also considered to be dedicated to Durgā in view of the *vyāḷa* frieze in the facade of the cave. Of the cut-out monoliths at Mahabalipuram the Draupadiratha was clearly intended for Durgā as is evident from the carved image of her in the hind wall of the shrine. Besides these temples which were her own, Pallava sculptures of Durgā are found in the rockcut caves at Singavaram, Vallam and the Varāha maṇḍapa, Mahishamardani, Trimurti and Ādivarāha caves at Mahabalipuram. There are faint indications of a panel in the Rāmānujamaṇḍapa at the same place which suggest that there was once a sculpture of Durgā with attendants which was chiselled off later. Besides, a small boulder near the Atiraṇacaṇḍa cave at Saluvankuppam has the carving of a Mahishasuramardini while an eight armed Durgā is noticed in the hind wall of a small rock-cut cell near the Shore Temple at Mahabalipuram. Images of Durgā are encountered in the structural temples of the period as well, *viz.*, the Kailāsanātha, Muktēśvara, and Matangēśvara at Kanchipuram.

A study of these images of the Pallava period does not reveal any iconographic rigidity. They are both with and without attendants. Excepting the examples at the Adivaraha cave temple at

17. *Epigraphia Indica,* XVII, p. 17.
18. K. R. Srinivasan, *Cave Temples of the Pallavas,* p. 109, Plate, XXXI, A, B and C.

Mahabalipuram and the Ranganātha Cave at Singavaram which stand in pleasing *tribhanga* the rest are in *samabhanga.* Excepting the examples at the Trimūrti and Ādivarāha cave temples which are eight armed the rest are invariably four armed. When the arms are four the upper right holds a *prayogachakra* and the upper left a *śankha,* the lower right is in *abhaya* or rests on the thigh under the girdle and the lower left is placed on the hip in the *kaṭyavalambita* pose. The four additional weapons held by the eight armed images are *khaḍga, dhanus, ghaṇṭa* and *khēṭaka.* The carving in the Ādivarāha cave temple is unique as its front right arm holds a cup and on the front left is perched a parrot. Besides weapons in hands a long *śūladhvaja* is also noticed above the right side of the goddess. The Pallava Durgās stand either on the severed head of a buffalo as at Singavaram, the Ādivarāha and Trimūrti caves and the exterior of the Draupadiratha at Mahabalipuram or simply on a *padmapīṭha* as in the Varāhamaṇḍapa and the image in the hind wall of the shrine in the Draupadiratha. These iconographic variations clearly demonstrate that there was a wide experimentation in this formative stage in the history of South Indian plastic art.

Besides this conventional form of Durgā her other aspects are also met with among Pallava icons. Her fight with Mahishāsura, the perennial theme of early Indian sculptors, was not ignored by the Pallava *sthapatis* who have immortalised the epic story in the famous panel in the Mahishamardani cave at Mahabalipuram. She is shown as Simhavāhinī in the structural temple of Kailāsanātha at Kancipuram and in a rock-cut specimen at Panamalai, both of the time of Rājasimha Narasimhavarman II, In some places the lion is shown standing by her side.

An interesting aspect of the Durgā cult as exemplified by extant sculptures of the Pallava period is her marked association with Vishṇu during that period in contrast to the essentially Śaiva orientation of her cult during the Śangam Age. In fact even the *Śilappadikāram* which is considered to be a late Śangam work, calls her *Mālavarkkilangilai*[19] *i.e.,* the younger sister of Vishṇu. The combinations of Mahishamardani with Anantaśāyi in the Mahishamardani cave at Mahabalipuram and the Ranganātha cave at Singavaram, the proximity of Durgā to the shrine of Vishṇu in

19. vi, 59.

the Tirumūrti cave, the depiction of her images in closeness with Trivikrama in the Varāhamaṇḍapa and Bhūvarāha in the Ādi-varāra cave temple, all again at Mahabalipuram, appear to have some significance. The same norm was followed in the Pāṇḍya and Muttaraiyar caves, farther south as may be seen from the examples at Tiruttangal and Malaiyadippatti.[20]

It was during this period in South India that Śankarāchārya appears to have flourished. Though not a *śākta* in the sectarian sense he was in all probability the author of *Soundaryalaharī*, a well known ode to the Goddess. He is credited with the reformation and systematisation of the six creeds of Śaiva, Vaishṇava, Gāṇapatya, Kaumāra, Śaura and Śākta which earned for him the name *shaṇmatasthāpanāchārya*. His *bhāshya* on the *Gīta* seems to suggest that he practised *Śākta yoga*. It is likely that a few repulsive practices like human sacrifice which were associated with Śakti worship were discouraged by Sankara.

In the structural temples built towards the end of the Pallava rule as at the Muktīsvara a Kanchipuram and Vīraṭṭānēśvara at Tiruttani, Durgā occupies a niche in the northern wall of the ardhamaṇḍapa (vestibule) in front of the shrine. This is in conformity with the injunction in the *Vaikhānasa Āgama* and followed throughout in the subsequent ages. In every Śiva temple of the Chōḷa and Vijayanagar periods, Durgā is seen in the *devakoṣṭha* of the northern wall of the *ardhamaṇḍapa* though her iconographic traits betray slight regional and chronological changes.

It may be said that with the decline of the Pallava hegemony and the rise of the Chola empire under Vijayālaya (850-870) and Āditya (870-907) the cult of Durgā entered a new phase. The Tiruvalangadu plates of Rājēndra Chōḷa[21] aver that Vijayālaya built at Tanjore a temple for Niśumbhasūdanī, an aspect of Durgā in which she is said to have triumphed over the demon Nisumbha. The image which was consecrated by Vijayālaya is still extant and shows the goddess with four hands, the upper right holding a trident in the attitude of piercing the demon below and with an elaborate *jatābhāra*, a garland of skulls (*muṇḍamālā*) worn as an *yajñopavīta* and a serpent as *kucabandha*. This Nisumbhasudani aspect of Durgā appears to have been popular during the early

20. *Journal of the Madras University*, Vol. XXXII, No. 1, p. 154.
21. *South Indian Inscriptions*, III, No. 205, *v.* 46.

Chōḷa period and plastic representations of this theme are encountered even in miniature bas-reliefs tucked underneath the pilasters of the exterior of the *garbhagriha* of the temples at Punjai, Pullamangai and Tirukkarugavur, all in the Tanjore district.

Invariably the early Chōḷa Durgās are eight armed in the fashion of the Pallava specimen in the Ādivarāha cave temple at Mahābalipuram and are in pleasing *tribhanga*, a curious exception being the sculpture in the Nāgēśvarasvāmi temple at Kumbakonam, which is four armed. They also stand on the severed head of a buffalo and hold the *chakra, śankha, khadga, dhanus, ghaṇṭa* and *kēṭaka* in the three upper pairs of arms while the lower pair is generally in the *abhaya* and *kaṭyavalambita* poses. The Pallava practice of providing a long shaft surmounted by a trident in the form of a *śūladhvaja* persists almost throughout the early Chōḷa period. In the later examples she is shown with six, five and four arms, the upper arms holding the conch and discus in the conventional fashion and the rest carrying other weapons or attributes.[22] Though she is invariably met with *karaṇḍamakuṭa* instances depicting her with *kirīṭamakuṭa* emphasizing perhaps the Vaishṇava orientation of the goddess are not wanting.

A peculiar and interesting iconographic attribute of Durga in Tamilnad, the like of which is not to be seen anywhere else in India, is the association of the stag or buck (*kalaimān*) with her. In the representation of Durga in the Varāhamandapam and Ādivarāha cave temple at Mahabalipuram and in the Kailasanatha temple at Kanchipuram the stag is also shown with the lion. In several early Chōḷa temples also a relief of a stag is found by the side of the Durga in the northern wall of the *ardhamaṇḍapa*. A remarkable sculpture of Durgā of the early Chōḷa period, now on display in the Government Museum, Madras shows the stag prominently as if it is her mount. Some of the literary descriptions like *Pāykalaippāvai* and *Kalaippariurdi* reveal that the darting deer was her mount. The *Tēvāram* and the *Kamba Rāmāyaṇam* of much later period also allude to Durgā's stag.

An ubiquitous form of Durgā worship in the Tamil country during the Pallava and early Chōḷa periods was the offering of

22. Invariably in these specimens the lower pair of arms is in *abhaya* and *Kaṭyavalambita*.

navakaṇḍam i.e., flesh from nine parts of the body. This was nothing but self-mutilation. In several panels of Durgā of the Pallava period, this act is vividly shown where the devotee is offering his own head by cutting it off piece by piece. That these are only plastic versions of a practice that appears to have been in vogue in ancient days is obvious from the descriptions of such acts in the *Śilappadikāram* and *Maṇimēkalai.* These works reveal that warriors paid this price for the victory conferred by the goddess in response to their prayer. The *Maṇimēkalai* in particular speaks of a temple for Durgā in which there was a sacrificial altar surrounded by posts with truncated heads suspending.[23] Hundreds of memorial stones in several parts of South India point to the widespread nature of this ubiquitous practice. A slab with a late Pallava inscription contains the relief of a decapitated warrior with his right hand holding a sword and the left his mutilated head by its locks. The inscription mentions a certain Okkandanāgan Okkatiṇḍan Paṭṭi Pōttan and his cutting of his head as an offering for the goddess.[24] In the early Chōḷa images of Durga also this self-mutilation is shown but not so prominently as in the early Pallava cave temples. This representation is almost completely dispensed with in the later Chōḷa and Vijayanagar carvings of the goddess.

The concept of *Mātrigaṇas* or Divine Mothers is only one of the proliferations of the concept of Śakti. It is indeed significant that the cult of the Divine Mothers which seems to have been popular in North India even during the Kushāṇa period as exemplified by extant plastic representations of them at Mathura,[25] attained popularity in the Tamil country only during the eighth century. The earlier cut-in caves and cut-out monoliths of the Pallavas which contain the carvings of many a deity are curiously devoid of the row of Mothers. The number of Mātrigaṇas is not fixed in the earlier purāṇas but the *praśastis* of the early Chāḷukya copper-plates restrict them to seven. The *Saptamātrikas* appear to be the favourite deities of the early Chāḷukyas and their cult seems to have spread to Tamilnad only during the eighth century.[26] The first sculptural representation of the Matrikas is to

23. vi: 50-53.
24. *South Indian Inscriptions,* XII, No. 106.
25. V. S. Agrawala, *Brahmanical Images in Mathura Art,* pp. 59-60.
26. *Journal of the Madras University,* Vol. XXXII, No. 1, pp. 154-56.

be seen in the Kailasanātha temple at Kanchipuram. Very soon the cult seems to have spread widely and their sculptures are noticed in the Pāṇḍya and Muttaraiya cave temples at Tirugokarnam, Malaiyadippatti, Kunnattur and Tirukkalakkudi. As in other parts of India the constituents of the Saptamatrika group were Brāhmī, Māhēśvarī, Kaumārī, Vaishṇavī, Vārāhī, Indrānī and Chāmuṇḍā flanked by Gaṇēśa on one side and Vīṇādhāra Dakshiṇāmūrti or Vīrabhadra on the other.

It is learnt from an inscription of a Chōḷa Rajakēsari that during the reign of the Pallava king Dantivarman a separate temple was constructed and dedicated to the *Saptamātrikas* at Alambakkam in the Tiruchirapalli district.[27] Another temple of the Matrikas at Velacheri in the Chingleput district is mentioned in an epigraph of Pārthivēndravarman.[28] But separate temples of this class to the *Mātrikas* were extremely few though a miniature shrine for them as *parivārālaya* was built in every Śiva temple from the later Pallava period onwards. In other words it became an established fashion from the ninth century onwards to construct small shrines in the temple enclosure for eight attendant divinities waiting upon the main deity, viz., Sūrya, Chandra,[29] Saptamātrikas, Jyeshthā, Gaṇēśa, Subrahmanya, Chaṇḍikēśvara and Nandi. The first extant instance of this class appears to be Vīraṭṭānēśvarar temple at Tiruttani built during the reign of the last Pallava king Aparājita. The *Saptamātrikas* were included in the list of *parivāradēvatas* till the 11th-12th centuries but after that period they seem to have been discarded.

Another aspect of the Śakti cult which was perhaps more popular in the Tamil country than anywhere else was that of Jyēshṭhā. She was popularly known as Alakshmī and the elder sister of Lakshmī and the details of her worship are found in the *Bodhāyana-Grihyasūtra* and her eight fold forms mentioned in the *Vishṇudharmōttara*. The Tamil Lexicon *Śēndan Divākaram* assignable to the tenth century A.D., enumerates the eight Tamil name of Jyeshṭhā viz., Mugaḍi, Tauvai, Kālati, Mūdēvi, Kākkaikkoḍiyāḷ, Kaḻudai Vāhini, Śēṭṭai and Kēdalanangu.

27. *Annual Report, South Indian Epigraphy*, 1909, No. 705.
28. Ibid., 1911, No. 316; *South Indian Inscriptions*, III, 191.
29. In rare instances Chandra is replaced by Yama. See *Annual Report of South Indian Epigraphy*, 258 of 1903; *South Indian Inscriptions*, VIII, 560.

Like the *Saptamātrikas* Jyeshṭhā also is not to be seen in the earlier rock-cut caves of the Pallavas but makes her appearance in the structural temple of Kailāsanātha at Kanchipuram.[30] That a rock-cut shrine for her was excavated in the year 773 A.D. is gleaned from a Pāṇḍya inscription. She was also one of the *parivāradēvatas* in early Chōḷa temples and had a miniature shrine for her. She was mainly worshipped for warding off evil.

A hymn of the Vaishṇava saint Toṇḍaraḍippodi Āḻvār in the *Nālāyira divya prabandham* is of extreme interest as it makes a reference in derision to the cult of Jyeshṭhā. The Āḻvār says that when there is the great god Vishṇu who confers boons the people foolishly forget him and worship Jyeshṭhā.[31] Toṇḍaraḍippodi Āḻvār appears to have flourished during the ninth century and his verses may perhaps be taken to be the signal for the decline of the cult of Jyeshṭha. Her worship lingered for another two hundred years and then disappeared.

The almost simultaneous disappearance of two forms of Śakti—the Mātrika group and Jyeshṭhā—could not have been merely accidental. A study of the South Indian temple architecture and cult icons would reveal that the disappearance of the cults of the Matrikas and Jyeshṭhā in Tamilnad was closely preceded by the rise of a separate cult of Amman.

Though in the caves of Ellora and Elephanta separate shrines for Parvati are noticed such a provision was conspicuously absent in the Pallava and early Chōḷa temples. In the Pallava temples Pārvatī was worshipped only in company with Śiva and Skanda—in the Somāskanda form—and not separately. The early Chōḷa temple circuit, which had *parivārālayas* for the *Saptamātrikas* and Jyeshṭhā had none for Pārvati. It may be remembered that even in the great Brihadīśvara temple at Tanjore the shrine for Pārvatī was not the construction of Rājarāja but was added at a subsequent date. Similarly the Amman shrines in several early Chōḷa temples are not coeval with the main sanctum but are later additions of an age in which the construction of Dēvi shrines had come into vogue. The earliest epigra-

30. A rock-cut carving of Jyeshṭhā is found in a shallow niche on the northern side of the Vasantēśvara cave at Vallam, assignable to the reign of Mahēndravarman I. But this image is not coeval with the cave but a subsequent addition. See K. R. Srinivasan, *Cave Temples of the Pallavas,* p. 64.

31. *Divyaprabandham,* 880; *Toṇḍaraḍippodi, Tirumalai,* 10.

phical reference to a shrine of Pārvatī is to be found in the Eṇṇāyiram inscription of Rājēndra.[32] As against the silence maintained by the Pallava and early Chōḷa inscriptions regarding separate Amman shrines the later Chōḷa records allude to them in considerable number.[33] In these inscriptions the Amman shrine is called Tirukkāmakkōṭṭam.[34] This movement of the building of Amman shrines heralded by the later Chōḷas was continued by the later Pāṇḍyas and Vijayanagar and Nāyak rulers. As the Siva temples throughout the country are referred to in inscriptions as Kailāsa or Mēṛu after the real abode of Śiva, the shrines in temples were named Tirukkāmakkōṭṭam after *Kamakōṭi* of Kanchipuram, an ancient *Śaktipīṭha* in South India. Thus with the development of the cult of Śakti and the movement for building separate shrines for her near the main sanctum had become a regular feature of the South Indian temple complex her other forms like the *Mātrikas* and Jyeshṭhā almost naturally declined.

Apart from the major strands of the Śakti cult a few minor aspects of the goddess like her numerous proliferations into village deities are no less interesting. The Chōḷa inscriptions speak of two different varieties of temples, *Śrīkoyil* and *Tirumuṟṟam*, respectively denoting the shrines for major gods like Śiva and Vishṇu and minor and village deities. The Eṇṇāyiram inscription of Rājēndra refers to the gods of the *śēris* (slums) which bears clear testimony to the existence of a minor pantheon. This pantheon largely consisted of different aspects of Durga as is evident from the Chōḷa inscriptions. The Tanjore inscriptions alone mention such different varieties of Piḍāri as Kālappiḍāri, Punnaitturainangai Piḍāri, Poduvagai Ūruḍaiyāḷ Piḍāri, Kadurai Vaṭṭam Uḍaiyāḷ Piḍāri, Tiruvaḻuḍaiyāḷ Piḍāri, Kaḍugaḷ etc.[35] Another record mentions Durgā Paramēśvari and Emalattu Durgaiyār

32. *Annual Report of South Indian Epigraphy*, 1917. No. 335. Also noteworthy is an inscription of Rajendra (22 of 1895) engraved on the wall of the Mangaḷāmbikā shrine in the Śiva temple at Kandiyur. The temple at Gangaikondacholapuram has an Amman Shrine.

33. *Ibid.*, 307 and 308 of 1901; 469, 577, 586 and 589 of 1905; 530 of 1908; 429 of 1912; 320 and 322 of 1914 etc.

34. The evolution of the Amman Shrine in the South Indian temple complex has been dealt with by K. R. Srinivasan in the *Tirukkāmakkōṭṭam, Proceedings of the All-India Oriental Conference*, 1946.

35. See *Introduction, South Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. II.

Ōmkārasundari.[36] Two inscriptions from Tanjore speak of the setting up of two images, one of Kālapiḍāri and the other Durgā Paramēśvari each with four arms.[37]

The Cult of Śakti is still prevalent in several parts of South India where in villages she is differently called Kāli, Bhadrakāli, Mahākāli, Śellāṇḍiamman, Draupadiamman etc., and worshipped in a traditional way often to the accompaniment of animal sacrifices. The list of numerous village goddesses who are but varied aspects of the same Śakti and are worshipped still in different parts of South India include Māriamman, Pēchchiyamman, Ankammā, Muthyaḷammā, Bangārammā, Mātammā, Mātangi etc. Of these Māriamman in Tamilnad and Polerammā in Andhrapradesh are goddesses of smallpox and are considered to be responsible for cattle disease, drought and sickness. It is also considered that Māriamman is a goddess of rain, the Tamil term *māri* meaning shower.

36. *Annual Report of South Indian Epigraphy*, 1919, No. 207.
37. *South Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. II, Nos. 79 and 81.

THE INDONESIAN POLITICAL TRADITION *

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(Professor Kroef makes in the following paper an analytical study of three distinct factors constituting Indonesian political tradition in relation to the principal centres of political power in Indonesia today—Ed.).

The structure of the Indonesian government, and especially the political temper that currently sustains it, reflect a synthesis of three distinct elements: (1) the traditions and practices of social control and power indigenous to the divers cultures and ethnic groups of the Indonesian archipelago and suffused by the institutions of world religions such as Hinduism and Islam; (2) the lingering influences of the Dutch colonial system, particularly in public administration and in organization of economic life, and (3) the Indonesian nationalist ideology, mixed in varying degrees with essentially Western concepts of revolutionary mass upheaval and popular government, and with modern collectivist theories, primarily but not exclusively confined to Marxism. These three elements, though seemingly so heterogeneous, have in a rather unique way mutually reenforced one another, so that they constitute a synthetic, though more or less defined, pattern of beliefs and processes which will here be referred to as the Indonesian political tradition. In the following pages attention in some detail will first be given by the three component factors of this tradition, in order to examine next their relationship to the principal centres of political power in Indonesia today, namely the Presidency, the Army and the Indonesian Community Party.

I

Generalizations about indigeneous Indonesian social structure are often quite misleading because of the profusion and variety

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of communal organization, kinship patterns, land tenure, family and inheritance law, religious ritual, and so on, among the different cultural groups of the archipelago. Even so some general observations can be made in the context of the Indonesian political tradition. There is first of all the preponderance of what might be called an organic collectivity in traditional Indonesian societies, i.e. the sense of close interdependence among the members of a given human group, for whom that group is more than the sum of its individual parts. Human society and cosmic design are experienced as inseparable, and the individual typically regards himself not apart from, or as being over and against, society but as wholly determined by its supernaturally sanctioned norms. Individualism and self-alienation are, with some exceptions, poorly developed and group identity prevails even where village controls are so weak as to allow for frequent instances of individual defiance and severing of communal bonds (e.g. the *huta* or village founding process among the Batak of North Sumatra) kinship obligation and clan or sub-clan affiliation is keenly felt and subordination to them occurs as a matter of course.

In conformity with this collectivist tendency village or kingroup control over economic resources is strong, and individual enterprise is traditionally severely circumscribed by the priority of common interest. This does not mean that land, crops, or orchards cannot be individually controlled; it does mean that their alienation to someone outside the community is disapproved of, indeed may be impossible. The individual has, commonly, rights of use and disposal, the community has actual rights of ownership. In the economic process the religio-moral element constantly obtrudes, whether in the ritual of harvesting and sowing, the magical propitiation of the supernatural when new land is cleared, or, above all, in the thought, constantly emphasized in a thousand prescribed ceremonies, that between the community and the land and water that sustains it there exists a supernatural bound, which, if thoughtlessly broken, brings cosmic disturbances in its wake. Thus economic life is never impersonal, the exploitative element is traditionally lacking, and farreaching patterns of mutual assistance and cooperative endeavour enforce the communal character of the productive process.

In this organic collectivity power appears to be diffused but in fact is exercised in an authoritarian fashion. There are usually clear strata of eminence, even in what seems at first blush to be

a democratic society. Those with clan or other kingroup responsibilities, those who are believed to be descendants of the first ancestral pair that settled the village, those with special land right, all these clearly posses competencies in the social and political decision making which their neighbors do not have. The concensus sought in village or kingroup gathering is the concensus of an elite, whose responsibility is not innovation but preservation of tradition in the context of a changing world; only with difficulty does one, if an outsider, enter this elite. But the exclusivist factor is mitigated by a spirit of familism: one's fellow villager, even if not of one's own prominence, is bound to one by communal unity, and to be at ease and family-like in one's own world is perhaps the highest social ideal. This family image, in which the exercise of authority is tempered by the sense of intimacy, in which "elders" guide the community with the benevolent paternalism with which a father directs his child, again serves to re-enforce the organic compactness of society. This is true not only in the village sphere, but also wherever an overcapping regional or kingroup elite has emerged, despite the elaborate trappings of authority and the prescribed obeisance to be rendered to such an indigenous aristocracy.

Authority and aristocratic eminence rest here upon a supernatural base: there is no purely "secular" sphere of life, certainly not in the all important field of community leadership, the area where the human group is made to balance with what is believed to be the sacred, cosmic order. Hence authority is typically "restorative", in the sense that this balance must be restored (or maintained) in every individual and especially in every communal act. In consequence of this, charismatic expectations are strongly developed and messianic leadership is common. The bearer of authority is a conduit between two inseparable worlds, the natural and the supernatural, and—frequently at the cost of self-sacrifice—he returns the human order to its condition of golden prosperity, tranquility or bliss which are believed to have been temporarily lost. The idealized future is thus seen in terms of the past, and the present is a temporary deviation. To restore the human group to the blissfull future requires apodictic pronouncements and ritualized behaviour, i.e. an authoritarian effort of leadership, in which total obedience and faith on the part of the follower is indispensable. This observation applies as much to shamanistic leadership, i.e. the activities of the medicine man or woman in applying therapy to individuals or to the community, as to the

more formal communal or kingroup leadership, which involves primarily the community as an organic collectivity with general and age old customs and laws, in its cosmic setting.

The above description of traditional Indonesian social processes rests upon socalled "ideal types", i.e. it is drawn according to the social ideals of the communities concerned as they come to us from the anthropological and ethnic legal literature. Between the highly schematized social ideal, patiently recorded especially by Dutch researchers, and the actual reality of the social process with its infinite variety of individual deviations, foibles and vagaries and its dynamic vitality that always causes things to happen that are "not according to the book"—between these there often looms a large gap. This gap is important for the formulation of the Indonesian political tradition. For the Indonesian nationalist leadership, in outlook, aspirations and habitat often far removed from the social reality of distant and isolated Indonesian cultures, acquired, in its academic training in Holland and in Indonesia, an outlook upon its own social antecedents, its own Indonesian population mass, structured by the "ideal type", and proceeded to build its own political orientation around it. Thus much of the Indonesian nationalist leadership first came in touch with the divers traditions and institutions of Indonesian societies through the often highly stylized, "bookish" media of the Dutch anthropology and ethnic jurisprudence on Indonesia.[1] The traditional Indonesian world in the thought of the nationalist leadership seemed to have an elegance and symmetry, which, as a cultural treasure, or later, as a source of nationalist inspiration came to be contrasted in a kind of Rousseauist fashion with the inchoate disruption and materialism presumably produced by Western contacts.

This is not to disparage the enormously important literature on Indonesian social "ideal types", to the contrary. So far as it goes what it portrays of the Indonesian traditions is portrayed accurately enough; it is only that life exceeds the ingenious schemes of scholarship. Still all this literature does present

1. The author is reminded, in this connection, of a recent cartoon in a popular American Magazine, depicting a group of natives, in Western dress, graduating from an educational institution somewhere in the South Pacific. The principal is shown giving a book to each graduate with the words: "*Be sure to become familiar with your tribal customs as described in Professor Johnson's book.*"

us with the outlines of the indigenously Indonesian social process, as it existed in self-contained tribal settings long ago and as its influence persists in the varying environments of Indonesia's major ethnic groups until this day. But the elements of exception, deviation and individual differentiation in any tribal society have always been more important than the literature on that society tends to show—modern anthropological research has at least that advantage over the pre-World War II "ideal type" publications that flowed so impressively from the pens of Dutch scholars. The consequence is clear: schooled by the latter publications the Indonesian academic and nationalist elite was apt to see its own social environment in sociological terms far more categorical, indeed even dogmatic, than the social reality allowed. And this, too, was to have important consequences for the Indonesian political tradition, as we shall see, in that the elite, once having come to political power, seemed to have little use for what seemed to be subversive deviations from a clear and well defined social pattern established by research as indigenous and truly "national" Indonesian.

On the base of the indigenous social structure both Hindu-Indian and Islamic influences constructed their immensely significant accultural elaborations. Regarding the effects of the Hinduization process it should first of all be observed that Hindu-Indian influence greatly expanded the indigenous animistic-pantheistic religious view into a developed monism with strong mystical tendencies. This process was by no means uniform; it was undoubtedly much stronger in Western Indonesia, especially on Java, than in the Eastern sections of the country, but even on the Eastern lesser Sunda Islands and in the Moluccas its influence has been traced. One consequence of this influence was to strengthen further the notion of the essential unity, if not the interchangeability, of the human and social order on the one hand, and the sacred, cosmic one on the other. In turn concepts of kingship, indeed of political leadership generally, were also in Indonesia given enlarged "supernaturalized" and charismatic dimensions, exalting the ruler, his descendants and even his immediate paladins into having sprung from gods or godhead, and embodying the centralized principles of the cosmic order. The indigenous collectivist character of society was, whether in temple ritual, mystical discipline or royal character, ever more "concentrically" conceived, with fixed social strata revolving around the royal or aristocratic center.

Such a cosmology thrived on bureaucracy, on the careful grading of government no less than of society. The expansion of the aristocracy as the manifestation of a divinely directed and concentrically stratified social order naturally accompanied this bureaucratic elaboration, and both processes evolved into the highly formalized pattern of social intercourse, predicated upon an understanding of offices, titles and honorifics, and applictation of etiquette, that characterized the traditional Javanese social order, for example, until recent years. In this way too was born the Javanese *Ksatriya* ideal, pendant of the West-European *chevalier sans peur et sans reproche,* and with it the cult of the knight and of "the noble hero" or religious legend, which has made Arjuna into a popular theatrical hero until this day. In this *ksatriya* ideal we find strong accentuation of the indigenous concept of the "restorative" role of community leadership, with its supernatural sanctions, but also with the expectation of sacrifice.

But awareness of the extent to which the Hindu-Indian accultural process re-enforced indigenous and, undoubtedly, pre-Hindu-Indian concepts and processes of social control and power, should not cause us to overlook what was already noted earlier, namely that the Hinduization of Indonesia occurred very unevenly and spasmodically, that large areas of the archipelago were barely touched by it, while others allowed the Hindu Indian cosmology and its social correlates to permeate their institutions almost completely. The Hinduized Indonesian was—and to the extent that the accultural tradition is still evident—and is primarily a Javanese; a Toradja, an Alfuru, or a Menankabau does not enter into this cosmology, and hence does not partake of the accentuation of indigenous traditions by the Hinduization process that is part of the Javanese ethos, though he is in general communication with its principal institutions such as the communalism, the unity of secular and supernatural experiences, the sacred character of leadership, and so on. This difference is also an element vital to the Indonesian political tradition—particularly so if, through preponderance of numbers, geographical advantage or sheer historical accident, the Javanese would acquire (as they did) a dominant role in Indonesia's later history and in its national state.

The impact of Islam on the Indonesian world is less clear. Historically the Islamization process presents us with many mysteries, e.g. why after centuries of comparatively slight and intermittent Islamic contact the Islamization process of Indonesia

and neighboring areas so sharply intensified in the fourteenth and following centuries. One reason why an adequate assessment of the Islamic influence on Indonesian life is difficult to make is because the Islamization of the country is still in process, and the accultural elements have not as yet crystalized. But there appear to be some preliminary conclusions of the process that can be made. First of all much of the Islamic impact had a strong mystical—and from a Muslim point of view heretically pantheistic character; as in the case of Hindu-Indian influence Islam too tended to be interpreted along indigenous monistic lines, strengthening the idea of unity of the natural and supernatural worlds and suggesting an individual rather than an ecclesiastical kind of soteriology. The ease with which Sufi notions and practices can be mixed with Hinduistic mysticism is still quite evident in Javanese religious life today. This religious syncretism was not free from periodic outbursts of orthodox Islamic resistance, during which the purity of the Prophet's faith was upheld, but even today those Indonesians who, especially as a result of modernist currents in Islam, identify themselves self-consciously with a pure and unadulterated Muslim orientation exhibit the syncretic influence in many traits of their personal lives. In a way the most telling symbol of this process of religious synthesis in Indonesia, a process that probably would not have been possible without the presence of a developed animistic and potentially pantheistic religious view in the indigenous, pre-Hindu and pre-Islamic cultural values of the Indonesian people, are the houses of worship. Just as the later temples of the Hindu period in East Java and Bali progressively assert pre-Hindu religious motifs, and the indigenous religious element thus blends with the Indian import, so does the architecture of many Indonesian mosques even as early as the seventeenth century, display the pyramidal form with several ascending stories that is typical of the *tjandi* or Hindu-Javanese temple.

But consciousness of belonging-however syncretically—to the Ummat Islam, the Muslim community of believers, had a politically exclusivist and basically anti-Western (and anti-Christian) effect, and made Islam the first ideological rationale of Indonesian nationalism. Virtually all those historical figures honored today by the Indonesian national leadership as early champions of anticolonialism in the archipelago (e.g. Diponegoro, Imam Bondjol or Sultan Hasanudin), were Muslims whose resistance to the Dutch found its principal justification in their religious faith. A figure

like Diponegoro, in whom contemporary popular opinion saw the embodiment of the Hinduized *ksatriya* ideal with all its pre-Hindu attributes of "supernaturalized" political authority, and who regarded himself as an orthodox Muslim and "purifier" of his faith and society (i.e. as using authority in the wellknown, charismatic and "restorative" fashion), is representative of both the syncretic and "exclusivist" effects of the Islamization process in Indonesia. No historical Indonesian figure equals Diponegoro in importance in the nationalist ritual today.

Passing now to the second element of the Indonesian political tradition, we may note two aspects of the Dutch colonial era which proved to be of crucial significance, viz., the principle and application of indirect rule, and the paternalistic bureaucratism and government control in all aspects of life, particularly in the organization of the economy. The essence of Dutch civil authority was the concept that "rule of like over like is a blessing", and the colonial government machinery, almost from the beginning, rivetted itself to the aristocracy and other traditional sources of authority. Indeed, Dutch officials "feudalized" themselves by adopting the grand style of native princes and regents and title consciousness reached heights unheard of in the more democratic burgher atmosphere of Holland. In Indonesian myths a reverse identification often took place: Indonesian royalty legitimized its position in the colonial order by tracing its own descent from the Dutch monarch. Thus whatever changes the colonial era was to bring over the years at the levels of the Indonesian socio-economy, the authoritarian pre-colonial power structure remained unaltered, was in fact considerably strengthened by the colonial system. Leadership remained "restorative" and charismatic, supernaturally sanctioned, predicated upon the preservation of traditional social distance which in the colonial epoch even assumed an almost caste-like character at times. Preservation of the power structure also meant retention, as far as possible and as a matter of policy, of indigenous custom, land rights, kingroup obligations, and so on, and thus the collective element in indigenous society—"the communal feature of Indonesian life" as one Dutch expert on ethnic law put it—remained in fact far longer than a foresighted development policy should have tolerated.

The recognition of communal landrights meant, along with an assured place for indigenous belief in jurisprudence, a re-enforcement of the organic collectivity in Indonesian societies. Indirect

rule and a "feudalized" administration meant retention and gradual expansion of bureaucracy: "higher than the mountains of Java is the mountain of officials that has been heaped upon this land" the noted historian (an official), J. C. van Leur, once remarked during the 1930's when the economic depression had already forced some retrenchment. Private capital, indeed private enterprise generally, whether carried on by Chinese, Arabs or by Dutch entrepreneurs or corporations, operated in an atmosphere where the common denigrating comment *partikulir sadja* ("only a civilian") indicated the prominence to which officialdom felt entitled in relation to "mere" private persons. Conflict between the colonial government and these entrepreneurs, between the bureaucrat or administrator and even Dutch "big business" was a major characteristic of the modern colonial economy, and was reflected in yet another typical feature of that economy, namely the extent of government monopoly or ownership in major fields of production and service. The government owned the principal railway, estates, major fishing resources, salt production, utilities, and so on, and what nowadays is commonly referred to in underdeveloped economies as "the public sector" enjoyed a protection and preponderance that suggested, along with steadily encroaching controls over the private business sector, that a system of state capitalism was wittingly or unwittingly, the shape of things to come. Thousands upon thousands of Indonesians had been, were, or became, functionaries in the bureaucracy of this state capitalist sector, their lives and economic beliefs conditioned by the primary principle of government control. The social status of even a low government berth was but a reflection of the traditional respect for bureaucratic employment with its ancient semi-aristocratic connotations, dating from times when to be employed at the *kraton* (court center) or at the *dalem* (residence of a noble functionary) allowed one to bask in the supernaturally sanctioned homage due to those who occupied the center of the universe. This, as much as the relative security afforded by government employment as compared to the strife and risks of private enterprise, reenforced the by now deeply entrenched public sentiment behind bureaucracy as a desired way of life.

The final factor in the molding of the Indonesian political tradition—nationalist ideology and modern collectivism—closely interacts with the two previous elements mentioned. The significance of the Indonesian nationalist ideology lay not—or rather

not just—in the assumption that the divers peoples and cultures of the far-flung archipelago known as the Netherlands East Indies constituted a national entity with common feelings and traditions and a common political destiny, but rather that this national entity was an historic fact, evident centuries before the Dutch, and somehow temporarily obscured by the unwelcome interlude of colonial dominiation. This mystique of national destiny was to become stronger with the years, being at first barely in a position to compete with the distinctly regional nationalistic currents in various parts of the archipelago (e.g. the Young Sunda or Young Ambon movements) but gaining in force and reaching its apogee—for the moment—in the inspired historical mystagoguery of such figures as the late Muhammad Yamin, for whom the Indonesian Republic as it finally and formally was to emerge at the close of 1949 was like a "Fourth Reich", the historic successor to Shrivijaya, Modjopahit and Mataram, the ancient empires of the pre-colonial past. This "historicist" legitimization of the Indonesian state is the product of a momentum, none too definite in the early years, of the multifaceted nationalist movement (and still finding its demurrers among less sanguine Indonesian today,) but acquiring a finality until today it is taught in the nation's schools as historic fact.

Along with the concept of historic unity there came a levelling view of cultural diversity and the belief in a single, national set of cultural values. Though aristocratic impulses in the nationalist movement were always strong, it was a "national" peasant culture, the culture of the Indonesian common man, so to speak, that emerged from this levelling outlook. This process ran parallel to another one, to what might be called the "massification" of Indonesian society, in which the nation came to be viewed not in terms of established social gradations or regional and individual variety, but as an organic collectivity in the sense of the modern corporate state. Taking as its base the indigenous communal feature of peasant society the nationalist ideology in fact amplified it to national proportions and rendered the traditional awareness of communal interdependence into a notion of corporate citizenship. Concepts of mass democracy and of "the nation in arms" gave much of the Indonesian nationalist ideology from the start a pronounced Jacobin characteristic, notwithstanding the cross currents of Muslim bourgeois, Marxist, *declasse* intellectual, and other aspirations and orientations. The levelling of cultural difference and regional variety similarly proceeded from a Rousseauist

romanticism in much of the Indonesian national outlook: the *marhaen* (proletarian) and *rakjat djelata* (common people) acquired an aura of sanctity as their welfare became the object of nationalist striving, while their lives and institutions (examined as a cultural treasure in the "ideal type" monographs of colonial anthropological literature) came to be regarded as both beautiful, because so "symmetrical", and as pitiful, because exploited by the colonial system. The *marhaen's* response, over time, was identical to what Irving Babitt had predicted in his book *Democracy and Leadership*: "The effect of the Rousseauist evangel is to make the poor man feel proud and the victim of a conspiracy".

Despite its notions of mass democracy—or perhaps because of it—despite the expectations aroused by demands for political liberty from colonial oppression, the nationalist leadership, by temperament and inclination, by its Jacobin role, and because of the woefully undeveloped condition of colonial political life and institutions of self government, moved quite naturally in an elitist and authoritarian course of leadership. It was, and was broadly considered by others to be, the successor to the traditional aristocracy and, after the successful revolution (1945-49), to the departing Dutch, and thus fell heir—even if it had refused—to the system of bureaucratic paternalism that had been a feature of Indonesian political life since the Hindu period. Some nationalist leaders more than others revelled in their new role: for them the mystagoguery of modern mass democracy fitted neatly with more ancient, but equally potent traditions of charismatic expectations, and as the national economy went from bad to worse and the schematized view of a "national culture" could no longer account for the continuing political and, still later, military resistance of those who did not accept the dictates of an overblown and ever more authoritarian Djakarta bureaucracy, these leaders became ever more didactic and dogmatic, always seeking to sanctify their position by appeals to a kind of nationalist theology that they themselves were forever developing. In this theology there were absolute political evils, and absolute concepts of the good phrased in catchy slogans.

In yet another way the peasant or kingroup communalism served the nationalist rationale, namely in an economic sense. Though in the Indonesian nationalist movements there were undercurrents representing middle class entrepreneurial interests, capi-

talism was generally considered a *bete noire,* and to be nationalist meant, with rare exceptions, to be an economic collectivist. This aversion to capitalism stemmed of course from the fact that it was considered to be inseparable from colonialism, a Marxist proposition, that found wide acceptance even among those who did not formally consider themselves Marxist. But the collectivism that was held up as ideal was poorly defined. Nothing was said, for example, of the principle of state ownership of major enterprises which the Dutch colonial government was also following, nor of the exact position of smaller Indonesian entrepreneurs. Instead, recourse was had, as often as not, to the economic communalism of village or kingroup settlement, and here justification was found for an "Indonesian Socialism" based upon the organic collectivity of peasant life with its patterns of mutual assistance and common ownership. This tradition of mutual assistance (*gotong royong*) was to be elevated into a *Machtspruch,* repeated with increasingly categorical vehemence the more it became apparent that in many areas it had never existed, or had long since eroded under the individualizing influences in the rural society. Thus was born the concept of a *gotong royong* state, the economic pendant of village "togetherness" on a national scale, and requiring for its operation the coercive force of the strongly entrenched bureaucratic paternalism of the past.

II

The major centres of power in Indonesia today—Presidency, Army and Communist Party—each reflect particular combinations of the three elements in the country's political tradition. The key to an understanding of the Presidency—and to the political thought of Sukarno—is to see it as a kind of modernized Hindu-Javanese institution, in spirit related to the outlook of the Modjopahit court, but making use of the technology and manipulatory controls of the modern corporate state. For Sukarno's concept of the Presidency bears little functional relationship to the constitutionally circumscribed operations of such an office in most of the Western world. The President is, and sees himself as, first of all, the conduit between and the balancer of two orders, one the social and political system now prevailing in the country, the other the meta-historical, if not the metaphysical one, embodying the abstract character of the nature and ultimate destiny of the nation. As sanctifier and unifier the relationship between the secular and the transcendent

order the President stands wholly in the sign of traditional Indonesian conception of authority: "I'm Gemini, twins", he reportedly once remarked in an interview, "Because I'm two halves, I can exhibit all shades and lead all peoples. I am the all-embracing."[2] He is the tireless inventor of new abstractions and national symbols, the verbalizer *par excellence* of the national Indonesian revolution and its product, the national Indonesian state, "supernaturalizing" in the time honored fashion of indigenous, traditional—and especially Hindu-Javanese—leadership the exercise of secular power. The relative uniqueness of his position is his combination of two traditions which, in this instance, wholly support one another, viz., the ancient Indonesian concept, strengthened by Hindu-Indian influence, of sacred kingship, with the function of the modern totalitarian manipulator of mass society.

Typically, the Presidency functions in "restorative" and charismatic fashion and its sloganizing is designed to link the past with the future, both glorious and separated from each other by this temporary deviation of colonialism and its aftermath, from which deliverance can come through unhesitating espousal of the magic national symbols invented by Sukarno. Over the years, with deepening economic and political crises, the sacred charismatic position of the President has become more pronounced as the "Hindu Javanese style" of his political behavior also became more apparent. He began his career as chief executive with the common, fraternally Jacobin, pre-fix *Bung;* he is now, by official designation, "the President/Great Leader of the Revolution/Mandatory of the People's Congress", and not a conference of officials, business, labor, youth, women's or other groups passes without conferring a new title upon him. Significantly, he has declined to accept the hereditary title of the lesser nobility, that of *Raden,* though he is presumably entitled to it. For his is an exaltation in terms of revolutionary mass society. But only the terminology is new, the function is not, for it embodies the oldest Indonesian notions of aristocracy and leadership.

Government, from the vantage point of this Presidential function, is the authoritarianism of the village elite and village elders, writ on a nationwide scale, and tempered by the spirit of familism,

2. *Times,* December 8, 1961, p. 40 (U.S. ed.).

i.e. of national civic fraternalism. The Indonesian nation, declared Sukarno in his *Political Manifesto,*

> "Since ancient times based its system of government on *musjawarah* and *mufakat* (concensus and mutual deliberation) with the leadership of one central authority in the hands of a *sesepuh*—an elder—who did not dictate but led and protected. Indonesian democracy since ancient times has been Guided Democracy, and this is characteristic of all original democracies in Asia".

In "guided democracy", to use another one of Sukarno's familist metaphors, "everyone sits at the table—at the eating table and the working table", and this too is *gotong royang,* although Indonesian Communists have used this concept primarily to demand inclusion of their party in the cabinet, an idea which Sukarno has not rejected. In this system of guidance by elders Sukarno is the chief elder, and late in March, 1963, the Indonesian Governors conference duly bestowed on Sukarno the new title of *Sesepuh Agung Pemerintahan Republik Indonesia* or "Great Elder of the Government of the Indonesian Republic". Again it is necessary to stress the blending of indigenously Indonesian and Hindu-Javanese concepts with Rousseauist democracy; to Sukarno applies Andre Malraux' characterization of St. Just: "He dreamed of Idyllic plowmen under the benign rule of venerable old men".

The power relationship of superior to subordinate under this system is suffused with personal considerations for, ideally, familism enters into the bureaucratic process also. But the relationship of his immediate subordinates—cabinet officials, leaders of major parties, army officers—is more that of paladins in a feudalized network of loyalty, reward and punishment; the personal element and familistic considerations constantly obtrude and are as much abutments of power as individual following or constitutional regulation—probably even more so. But though authority seems diffused and the mechanics of government, like the mechanics of traditional communal government, appear to be democratic, the elitist and paternalistic features strongly predominate and the check on executive abuse is less a matter of law or constitutional regulation and more a matter of personal considerations and of the subtleties of a pervasive, essentially feudal sovereign-vassal relationship.

The origins of Sukarno's opposition to capitalism are not unusual in terms of the general Indonesian nationalist ideology, but

his admiration of a familistically tempered collectivism ("Indonesian Socialism") that avoids the impersonal rigors of the Marxist or Marxist-Leninist variety, has at least one intellectual source worthy of passing mention. From Sukarno's vocabulary, and from the authors he has cited in his earlier days, he appears to have been more than superficially influenced by some of the writers of the late Romanticist literary revival at the close of the last century in the Netherlands known as the "Eightier Movement". The revolutionary Romanticism of this literary current (as well as its not infrequent, embarrassingly sentimental bathos was one of the young Sukarno's major intellectual antecedents, as was another, if later, dimension of this movement, the political humanism and Socialism of Dutch writers like Herman Gorter and Henrietta Roland-Holst. A highly romanticized, indeed even sentimental Socialism, lies at the bottom of Sukarno's collectivist phraseology, but is not any the less effective for that, for he has also managed to make the mystique of Indonesian nationalism and its "supernaturalized" and metahistorical vision of the origin and destiny of the Indonesian national hallow the vague collectivism of "Indonesian Socialism", just as the sacred, magico-religious character of the traditional Indonesian commune hallows its collectivist ownership and practices.

Sukarno is now "President for Life"—but is his modern version of the Hindu-Javanese pattern of power, with its sharply accentuated mystical authoritarianism and bureaucratic paternalism, necessarily in communion with other areas of Indonesia, particularly those which did not experience the effect of a prolonged Hinduization process? Outbursts of ethnic pride and nationalism, regional rebellion even, give the answer, and one may suggest that a principal source of provincial unrest in Indonesia in recent years has been due to the repudiation of this Hindu-Javanese power pattern, and especially its economic concomitants, by various ethnic groups on the islands beyond Java. Much of the nationalist leadership (even its non-Javanese component) had proceeded so far in its Westernization that it learned perhaps most of what it knew about the social patterns of its own farflung country via the medium of the highly schematized Dutch "ideal type" anthropological literature on Indonesia. This literature, though certainly reflective of existing regional differences, tended to underscore and look for uniformities, for thematic consistencies held to be typically Indonesian, while, as we have seen, the exception to the categorical formulation, the variety and vitality of the social

process, received but little attention in it.[3] True insight into the rich social reality of life beyond Java was often not to be gained from it. Moreover, distrust of variety, of regional difference, and of local and individual deviation from the codified social norm, lay in the nature not only of the highly stratified and orderly concentric Hindu-Javanese power and social system, but also in the Jacobin notion of the centralized nation state and in the idea of a centuries long national Indonesian unity, both of which became unquestioned tenets of modern nationalist ideology as it gathered momentum. These were the reasons why, in principle, the notion of a federal Indonesian state was unacceptable to such a significant segment of the Indonesian national leadership, not just because the federal idea was a Dutch colonial notion. Federalism, and along with it, implicit recognition of the political significance of regional differentiation and variable social patterns, would have been unacceptable, no matter what source would have proposed it, because, in effect, it runs counter to the nationalist ideology and the "historicist" and Hindu-Javanese dimensions currently dominating the Indonesian political tradition. And so Java, longest under Hindu influence, and also longest and most deeply subjected to the Dutch colonial system, which, as we have seen, so strongly accentuated already established patterns of authority—Java was pitted against Indonesian groups, with institutions certainly similar to and in social structure often identical with its own, and yet lacking much and sometimes all of its accultural experience and exhibiting a flexibility and individuation strange to it. The modernized Hindu-Javanism of the Presidency, which also set the tone of the central government's bureaucratic way of life in Djakarta, thus by its very nature precipitated the regional conflicts.

That the Presidency emerged victorious from these conflicts was in largest measure due to the *esprit* of its military paladins. For the higher ranking members of the army officer corps the bureaucratic Moloch of the new Hindu-Javanism rising to the fore

3. Representative of this literature, for example, are the publications of the socalled "Leyden School" of anthropology, e.g.. the dissertations written under Prof. J. P. B. de Josselin de Jong. Their admirable qualities place them among the best current anthropological research, but their elaboration of themes like the social and religious dualism connected wth asymmetric connubium in Indonesian societies, strikes one as greatly contrived. In fairness the present writer hastens to add that in earlier publications he uncritically accepted some of these themes also.

presented many problems, the behaviour of the President still more. The former they sought to solve by simply replacing the bumbling officialdom, by asserting themselves not just as a military but also as a civil power center and therefore as a major political force in the country as a whole. Solutions to the latter problem varied: some army commanders, acting in the name of a higher national loyalty, revolted against the President, others saw no solution in what amounted to civil war, and proposed instead a policy of quarantine, of leaving the chief executive to his ritualized power displays, while seeking to rationalize, reform and render more efficient the enormously expanded functions of government in a period of desperately needed development. The latter policy also meant that other army rebels would have to be crushed, just as it meant that the President would have to be saved from himself as much as possible.

Thus the army, as in so many other underdeveloped countries precipitately thrust into nationhood, became a principal power center, not subordinate to but checking, and if necessary, overcoming the civil government. In Indonesia, as elsewhere, this process heightened the authoritarian tenor of the uses of political power, it also united the army by deliberate design with the nationalist ideology and with the national bureaucracy, to which, by virtue of its own hierarchical structure and the power of its emergency decrees, it added its own large dosage of paternalism in its dealings with the population. The modern Indonesian army commander, officially supervising a labor organization, called on to serve as a member of the cabinet, a diplomat, or as a parliamentary deputy, directing the production of a complex of rubber estates, censoring the press and all other printed matter, initiating industrial development projects for the rural population, and performing a host of other functions in an all encompassing state, has reverted ever more to the functions of the Hindu-Javanese *ksatriya*. And in their simplicity, austere dedication to service, and consciousness of "total" responsibility, the best Indonesian army officers (e.g. Djatikusumo, Jani, Nasution, even the rebel Zulkifli lubis, with his puritanical and "exclusivist" Islamic philosophy) seem to be modelled after the old *kṣatriya* ideal. In the personalized pattern of power these army commanders, like the President, often stand in a charismatic position toward their followers, and curious notions,—one is even inclined to say cults—of alleged invincibility may surround them. This factor undoubtedly played a role in the outbreak of officer-led rebellions in various

parts of the country in recent years. For the *ksatriya,* to function properly, requires the unsullied symbol of a suzerain whose very eminence and nobility justifies total devotion. In the absence of such a symbol the *ksatriya* enters upon the road of sorrows—and such has, unfortunately, been the fate of many Indonesian military, torn between rebellion and despairing submission.

For the hope that the Presidency could be quarantined so that the country might be rationalized has thus far proved illusory, mainly because there was a third power center available which Sukarno could and has dexterously played off against the army. The *Partai Komunis Indonesia* (PKI), is, with its two million members, and its additional thousands of front group members, not only one of the largest Communist parties in the world, it is also, because of the banning of the major Muslim opposition party and the reduction of virtually all other organizations of any size—like the *Partai Nasional Indonesia* (PNI)—mere appendages of the Presidency, the only sizable and relatively independent power organization left in the country. How the PKI has managed to do this falls outside the scope of these pages, but the relationship of the party to the principal elements in the Indonesion political tradition should be considered. It is first of all noteworthy, then, that the PKI portrays itself and has won support as a national party with a nationalist orientation. Its general strategy has, in fact, been *plus nationaliste que les nationalistes*: it has identified itself with the historic mystique of national unity, for example, points to its role in developing the national consciousness and its contribution to the success of the Indonesian Revolution, and so on. "The Indonesian nation", remarked PKI chairman D. N. Aidit in his *Indonesian Society and the Indonesian Revolution,* originally, "while on the Asian mainland, came from one national stock with one language and culture". The accidents of geographic settlement in this Indonesian archipelago, and the interlude of foreign colonial domination, caused this unity to be lost, but "long before the foreigners came the Indonesian nation was a civilised nation", and so on, The PKI is presumably dedicated to the restoration of this highly civilized unity of antiquity, and the winning of national independence from the Dutch was a first long step toward that objective. Past and future thus interlock in the frame of political action for the PKI in the approved manner of the nationalist ideology.

While hostile toward the Hindu influence because of its feudalizing effects, the party has tried to be as tolerant of divers

accultural influences as possible, and has made almost a fetish of its approval of Islam and of the fact that it does not demand atheism as a condition of membership. With an obvious bow to Mao Tse-tung Aidit declared last year: "Let life in Indonesia flourish like the many-colored flowers of a beautiful garden, and let the people choose for themselves which flower they like the most".[4] Mutual cooperation or *gotong royang* has, as was indicated earlier, meant that the red flower of the PKI has as much right to grow in the Indonesian garden as any other, and that the party should therefore be included in the government along with other political organizations. This is the true "unity in diversity" as the motto of the Indonesian seal has it, and the right of the party to join in "cooperating" at all levels of public life is made to stand in the sign of the institutions of cooperative endeavour of indigenous Indonesian communalism, as reenforced by the mystique of modern nationalist collectivism. Village communalism and modern collectivism thus represent extensions, in spirit, of another for the PKI, a position generally approved of by Indonesian nationalist ideology today. Indeed, at one point the existence of village communal practices was held to be justification for the establishment of modern rural Soviets in PKI agrarian policy.

The party has lashed out against "bureaucratic capitalists", i.e. particularly anti-Communist army officers who supervise major phases of the production process, but this attack should not, of course, be taken to mean as opposition to the tradition of bureaucracy in Indonesian life. A Communist state without a vast bureaucratic apparatus is simply a contradiction in terms and its very bureaucratic spirit makes the party fit in well with the Indonesian political tradition. So does its elitist structure, its concept of "democratic centralism", and its principle of "people's dictatorship" (not the "dictatorship of the proletariat" for Indonesia is not yet ready for this stage according to Communist theory), all of which provide but various emphases on the essentially authoritarian character of Indonesian practices of power. It is for this reason that the PKI frequently can lean upon the Presidency, just as the Presidency can lean upon the PKI when it needs to confront the army, and why Presidency, army and PKI, find it possible to participate within the same structure of government despite mutual antagonism. The modern version of Hindu-Javanese sacralized

4. *Antara Daily News Bulletin*, Dec. 28, 1962, p. 4 (New York. ed.).

kingship that is the Presidency, rule by *ksatriya*, which is the evident objective of the army leadership, or a PKI led "people's dictatorship",—none of these represent deviations from the Indonesian political tradition as it now prevails.

III

What has been called in the preceding pages Indonesia's political tradition consists of a pattern of mutually re-enforcing and essentially congenial elements of indigenous village communalism and Marxism, of bureaucratic paternal rule whether in the sense of the Hindu-Javanese or the modern corporate state, of a simultaneous tendency toward religious syncretism and "exclusivism" feeding a nationalist ideology, of the *ksatriya* and the function of the military commander turned civil administrator, of divine kingship and twentieth century sacralized dictatorship, and so on. Each of the current principal centres of power in Indonesia dips into, justifies itself by, and seeks to identify itself exclusively with this reservoir of political belief and action.

But how serviceable is this tradition to Indonesia's needs? To the deployment of its economic potentials, say, or to the functioning of the humdrum, but so highly essential, machinery of civil government? One is reminded that more democratic and more formally Constitutional concepts of power, anti-mystagogue and even anti-military in character have never been absent from the range of Indonesian political thought, and that the decline in their comparative popularity and in constitutional democracy generally, even during the past decade, does not necessarily betoken that the presently predominating combination of elements in the Indonesian political tradition finds general acceptance in the country. The limitations of the present political pattern—particularly after such future events as the demise of Sukarno, the emergence of a younger, less zenophobic, more matter of fact national leadership now waiting in the wings of the political stage, the thorough revamping of the economy and the establishment of a modicum of economic stability—may become only too apparent over time. The curious confluence of traditional authoritarian concepts of power with practices of political control appropriate to the modern corporate state may, in the long haul, have been no more than an infantile disorder of Southeast Asia's awakening giant.

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SECTION II: REPORTS OF SEMINARS

The Institute of Traditional Cultures held a seminar on the 25th September, 1964 in the University Buildings on "Social Aspects of mechanization of Agriculture". The following is a report of the proceedings of the seminar.

Present :

Director:

Prof. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, M.A.

Leader:

Dr. (Mrs.) Thamarajakshi, M.A., M. Litt., Ph.D; Dip. in Stat.

Participants:

Sri P. N. Appuswami, M.A., B.L., Advocate, 24, II Main Road, Gandhinagar, Madras-20.

Sri Ezuthachan, Lecturer in Malayalam, Malayalam Department, University of Madras, Madras.

Sri S. Govindaswami, B.A., B.L., J.P., District Magistrate (Retd.) 13, Besant Road, Madras-14.

Dr. Kadilaya, Lecturer in Kannada, Kannada Department, University of Madras, Madras.

Sri K. R. Padmanabhan, M.Sc., Reserve Bank Unit, University of Madras, Madras.

Dr. G. Parthasarathy, M.A., Ph.D., Deputy Director, Agro-Economics, University of Madras, Madras.

Dr. K. K. Pillay, M.A., D.Litt., D.Phil (Oxon), Professor of Indian History, University of Madras, Madras.

Sri Radhakanth, B.E., Agricultural Engineer (Implements) Office of the Director of Agriculture, Madras-5.

Dr. D. V. Rajalakshmanan, M.A., Ph.D., Professor of Statistics, University of Madras, Madras.

Sri S. Rajam, B.A., Murray & Co., Thambu Chetty St., Madras.

Sri A. Raman, M.A., M.Litt., Lecturer, Department of Economics, University of Madras, Madras.

Dewan Bahadur K. S. Ramaswami Sastri, B.A., B.L., District Judge (Retd.) 46, Lloyds Road, Madras-14.

Sri A. Samuel, M.A., Lecturer in Cooperation, University of Madras, Madras-5.

Sri A. B. Shetty, M.A., M.L., Reader in Constitutional and International Law, University of Madras, Madras.

Sri R. Srinivasan, M.A., Reserve Bank of India Scheme, University of Madras, Madras.

Dr. N. Subramaniam, M.A., Ph.D., Lecturer in Indian History, University of Madras, Madras.

Welcoming the invitees to the Seminar the Director said: The subject of this seminar is indeed interesting. Agriculture as you all know is one of the oldest industries of India and it is quite widespread there. Methods of agriculture arising out of the impact of science and technology on it raise problems in this industry particularly in the underdeveloped countries. Some of them conflict with each other as in our country. For example we want on the one hand mechanisation of agriculture in order to produce more food and on the other we have land reforms which put ceilings on land owning and lead to fragmentation of lands and correspondingly a greater number of proprietors of such lands. There are also sociological aspects of this industry in so far as questions bearing on the ownerships of lands, the way they use them etc. affect the people engaged in it. I hope that Dr. Thamarajakshi will discuss these and other matters in her paper and offer solutions or remedies for particular problems. I now request her to lead the seminar.

Dr. (Mrs.) Thamarajakshi: I am grateful to Prof. Sastri for having given me an opportunity to lead this seminar. I place my views on the subject before you in the paper which I shall now read.

SOCIAL ASPECTS OF MECHANISATION OF AGRICULTURE

I

The crucial role of agriculture in economic growth is too obvious to be reiterated. The elasticity of agriculture in fact determines the phase and pace of economic development. A potent method of enhancing agricultural productivity is farm mechanisation which *consists of the substitution of machinery for human and animal power.*

Purely from the technical point of view, mechanisation is an efficient technique, yielding as it does a higher output per unit of input. In the United States for example, it is estimated that total farm production since 1940 has increased by about 50% while farm labour force itself had contracted by nearly 37% during this period. Further while approximately the same acreage is cultivated in India and the United States, the current American yields for most crops are said to be two to five times as high as those of India.[1] To a large extent, this success of American agricultural abundance may be attributed to the extensive use of farm machinery.

But in most parts of the world, agriculture is not merely an occupation but a way of life. Hence technological improvements in general and the substitution of machinery for muscle in particular, result in considerable social repercussions not only in respect of the acceptance of the idea of mechanisation but also as a consequence of its adoption by the rural society.

This paper seeks to assess the social problems—benefits as well as costs of mechanisation, and suggests a course of action for the overpopulated economies like India.

II

Problems of Acceptance

There are innumerable problems associated with the acceptance of the idea of mechanisation by the rural society. The extent of receptivity of a peasant community to the introduction of machinery on farms is a complex function of social variables. The norms, values and beliefs, the group loyalties, the institutions, differentiation and stratification, in short, the culture pattern of the village economy influence the pace of its adaptation to mechanisation. In general, rural cultures that attach immense significance

1. The USIS: The Farm Revolution.

to familism and tradition as opposed to reason and achievement, which cherish the values of security in relation to risk, and which uphold the non-material and the sacred as against the material and the secular may be expected to be resistent to a transformation from the bullock cart to the tractor economy. In societies, where group loyalties prevail the individual peasant might not take to mechanisation unless the groups with which he is associated, namely, family, friends and other organisations view favourably such an adoption. The extent of social stratification will also influence the degree of comprehensiveness of acceptance by the different classes of the society. Again, the social distance of the particular rural community from the rest of the economy will determine, *interalia*, the rate of acceptance. Thus the adaptation to farm mechanisation is governed by the social level of the community.

Most of the underdeveloped economies are however characterised by an institutional structure that inhibits economic growth; and by a culture pattern that has conquered man. Economic development therefore implies "the process of evolving patterns of activity unfolding in one direction, disappearing in another as beliefs, aptitudes and hopes change".[2] To interpret this inevitable social change as a serious social cost and hence to decry all attempts at mechanisation is not a sound proposition. Progress requires the shaking off of the obsession of a sentimentalism that wants to preserve institutions for their own sake. On the other hand, social problems should be viewed not from a structural standpoint but on a functional basis. What is required is a conscious and deliberate reshaping of culture traits from different sources that leads to smooth progress. "Man's cardinal error through all the ages has been his habit of regarding culture or civilisation, as a structure in which the parts exist for the whole ... But it is a misleading picture. We shall better perceive our destiny if we imagine civilisation as a convenient framework for the development of the individual lives that live upon it, and not as an organism existing for its own sake. The test of a civilisation is neither its 'material greatness' nor yet its 'spiritual achievement' in the sense usually implied. It is the long run happiness of the people".[3] In other words, man conquers nature

2. Balakrishna, R: Cultural Reorientations in economic development: Bulletin of Institute of Traditional Cultures (UNESCO) 1956.

3. Folsom, Joseph Kerk: Culture and Social Progress, p. 503.

and establishes a particular culture. But in course of time, culture comes to be regarded by man as an end in itself. True progress in culture can obtain only when man is able to reconquer culture.

III

Problems consequent to acceptance

The social consequences that ensue mechanisation are manifold. Almost every aspect of the society—social life—social relations and social structure—will feel the impact of this farm revolution. A higher level of agricultural production is bound to commercialise agriculture, ensure occupational mobility and raise living standards of the people. But these benefits can be reaped only at certain costs. It is not however advisable to abandon a scheme just because it involves some costs. On the other hand, it is worthwhile analysing the potential direct and indirect effects of mechanisation, and weighing the costs against the benefits.

IV

Impact on Social life

Mechanisation reduces drudgery, increases leisure and enriches social life with modernised methods of recreation and amenities of living.

The enhanced agricultural productivity betters the living conditions of the peasants. The farmers of mechanised societies, enjoy the comforts of modern living such as automobiles, radio, telephone, washing machines, health facilities and public welfare activites which are directly associated with mechanisation. Smaller families are observed in farming communities that have introduced machinery on the farm. In short, the large value of production per worker would generally allow farm families to have incomes and living standards at a par with the other sectors of the economy; and would thus break the cultural gap between the farmer and the city dweller.

The elimination of drudgery and the reduction of exertion of manual effort contribute to more leisure for the farming families and improve working conditions. The greater leisure thus facilitated would encourage an active participation by the farmer in community activities of civic, educational and recreational value; and would kindle the creative abilities of the farmers.

Thus mechanisation may open the door to far reaching changes in rural life, which would be of immeasurable benefit to those working in agriculture.

In this connection, it is pertinent to take note of a justifiable caution sounded at some quarters that while machines are necessary, they must however be regarded as mere extensions of the human being. "The idolatory of the machine is an abomination".[4] In other words, the use of machine should not dehumanise man for "what shall it avail a man if he gain the whole world and lose his soul?". Machine should not tend to make atrophied the limbs of man.

But it may be maintained that there is in mechanisation, no inherent tendency to dehumanise man or to belittle dignity of labour. On the other hand, it ennobles the spirit of man. Science and technology in general "point out how wonderful is the human spirit which is able to penetrate into the deepest recesses of human nature, extort from nature, inanimate nature, secrets which are till now being shut off from our comprehension".[5]

Further, even in America where mechanisation is on the headway, some delicate jobs are still done by hand. Farm operations like hoeing, weeding and cultivation have to be performed manually. This is also true of livestock production.

Moreover, it is held that the sublime qualities of self-reliance, self-confidence, courage, poise, quick, sound judgment, independent thinking, self-respect, initiative, a sense of responsibility and hope, which are fostered by *skilled manual work*, cannot be developed by a mechanised society.[6] But in so far as mechanisation induces a demand for skilled labourers who can operate the machines, there should be no fear of non-development of these traits of human character.

While again farm machinery reduces the monotonous and stereotyped application of labour to routine farm work, it however releases labour time which can be usefully diverted to the development of more creative arts, literature and crafts. "The ancient world" which is "dotted with the vast temples and pyramids will always remind us of the power of the human brains

4. Russell, Bertrend: Impact of Science on Society, p. 60.

5. Dr. S. Radhakrishnan: Address delivered at the PSG College of Technology, 1958.

6. Gregg, Richard, B. A Philosophy of Indian Economic Development, p. 151 (Italics mine).

and brawn";[7] but it is only a higher level of living, which might be occasioned by mechanisation, that can facilitate and encourage the diversion of human effort to the construction of such manumental pieces of art and sculpture. Thus, Pope who depicted the happiness of a self-sufficient family farm in the couplet.

"Happy the man, whose wish and care
A few paternal acres bound"

could really not have appreciated such a situation, for it would not have enabled a man to live by the sale of his verses.[8]

V

Impact on Social Relations

Social relationships not only within the rural society but also between the rural and the urban sectors may be expected to change as a result of mechanisation.

It is said farming would become highly specialised and this might introduce a certain degree of inflexibility in farming systems. It is true that the mechanised farm cannot lightly change from crop cultivation to dairying. But, mechanisation and the broader outlook that goes with it, could free farming of many rigid practices and introduce more rotations. Further, agriculture can in fact be more diversified, supplemented by dairy production.

This high degree of specialisation and commercialisation of agriculture makes the rural community more organic. Instead of the farm producing its own draught power and the feed required, the tractor and its fuel have to be purchased from the industrial sector. Thus mechanisation is incompatible with a self-sufficient agriculture. On the other hand, it brings together the different parts of the economy in a closely integrated and highly interdependent system.

This organic solidarity resulting from mechanisation may be compared to the human body which is a collection of cells and which is more organic than a crowd of protozoa each consisting of a single cell. "Each of the protozoa is capable of all the func-

7. Wilcok, E. V.: Acres and People, p. 165.
8. Russell, Bertrand: Prospects of Industrial Civilisation, p. 35.

tions required for keeping alive; it does not need help from the others or die because they die. The cells composing the human body have no such independence; they have different functions, all necessary or at least useful for the life of the whole; and when any of the organs that perform vital functions are destroyed, the rest perish ... In this sacrifice of independence to cooperation, there is both loss and gain. There is loss in the fact that the whole assemblage of cells can be killed by one vital wound and that therefore, a human body has a more precarious life than a crowd of protozoa. But there is gain in the fact that, by specialising, the several organs become capable of doing work which no number of protozoa could do, and that the life of a human body is thus enriched and its responsiveness to its environment enormously enhanced".[9] That is the sort of difference which exists between a mechanised and a non-mechanised society.

However, it is maintained by some sociologists that this technical and formal cooperation resulting from the rapid mechanical advance is of a lesser order than the historic social and interpersonal bonds of family and kinship that exist in pre-mechanised communities. "What is in fact characteristic of our development is that it has successively destroyed all the established social contexts; .... and in such fashion that nothing has been developed to replace them".[10] Thus it is observed that in simpler agricultural communities, there is a social stability and a unique social consciousness which however cease to exist at the onset of industrialism.

The above, in the first place is only a tendency to idealise community consciousness as an end in itself, which is another instance of the non-functional and institutional approach. Secondly, it is possible to reduce the cogginess of man by governing organisations more democratically. It is only through a comprehensive and universal application of democratic principles that a proper balance may be maintained between the elements of the common man, the hero, and the cog in an individual of a mechanised society.

9. *Ibid.*, p. 35.

10. Emile Durkhein, Le Sincride, p. 446, Quoted in Elton Mayo's The Social Problems of an Industrial Civilisation, p. 8.

VI

Impact on Social Structure

Far reaching effects may be traced due to mechanisation on the social structure. The most remarkable and the most concerning of these effects specially from the point of view of the over-populated but underdeveloped economies is a saving of human labour. The machine is so much more powerful than man, and can perform so many operations simultaneously and without dreariness that it can effectively and efficiently replace human effort. Thus as a sociological unit, the farm becomes smaller in the number of workers employed. The rural labour force in United States is said to have dwindled from 11 millions in 1940 to 7 millions now.[11]

The brunt of this incidence will particularly fall on the number of hired workers, women and children permanently employed on the farms; and it is the larger farms which generally employ permanent servants. Hence mechanisation will mean unemployment for these permanent labourers on large farms and to the extent most of the work is done by the farmer and his family on small farms, and underemployment of family labour on these small farms. The demand for seasonal and casual labour may not be reduced so much in view of the fact that some of the operations will have to be done by hand.

But while mechanisation helps to save human physical effort, it however exacts a high level of specialised training on the part of the peasant, to operate and maintain complicated equipment. This incidentally raises problems of technical training. Thus when mechanisation occurs, a demand for specially trained and highly skilled mechanist farmers arises.

Again, while there is a tendency for reduced farm population and agricultural labour force due to mechanisation, yet that need not be taken to be a categorical indication of a permanent curtailment of employment opportunities in the economy as a whole. Such fears of unemployment are based on the major assumption that mechanisation requires large sized farms and that therefore the needed consolidation of holdings would throw out of farming,

11. USIS: *op.cit.,*

small farmers. While it is true that large scale farms are more suitable for mechanisation from the point of view of relative cost economies, a variety of small tractors could provide the traction of small holdings. Japan affords a concrete example of a country where small garden-type tractors and power-tillers have been employed in increasing numbers in recent years.

Further, no hasty judgment can be passed on the primary displacement of labour as a result of mechanisation, without due consideration of the secondary and long-term effects on employment. It is accepted that the declining importance of agriculture *vis-a-vis* the other sectors of the economy in the process of economic growth, would afford very little scope for a reabsorption of these displaced workers within agriculture itself. However opportunities may emerge in the non-agricultural sector, whose rate of development itself will now be faster due to the helping hand of agriculture in terms of a higher agricultural productivity and also due to the diversified consumption of the agriculturist which may now consist of an increasing number of industrial items. Particularly a fresh demand for labour would arise in these industries that manufacture, service and repair the farm machines and equipment.

With regard to women and children, they will have less work on farms; but that would conserve their time and energy for making better homes and nation. The womenfolk could devote more attention to the upkeep of their homes and to the education and health of their children, and thus contribute to the preparation of an efficient work force for the future. Moreover, they can take to some useful, part-time cottage work which would enhance the family earnings. In fact, the entire rural labour force can undertake dual employment in supplementary industries. Further the profitability of agricultural improvements would induce the nonfarming interests to invest in land. All these should imply smooth occupational mobility which would hasten industrial development and hence provide more job opportunities.

While thus the "craze" for labour saving machines cannot be upheld on humanitarian grounds in overpopulated economies, yet a carefully planned programme of mechanisation can produce positive compensatory effects on employment. "It would therefore be self-defeating if we did not anticipate these effects of

mechanisation and permitted static comparative prices and contemporary scarcities or abundances to determine our strategy of development. As a matter of fact, as Myrdal has pointed out, "it is the purpose of development effort to alter the relative scarcities of factors and current price relationships which static theory accepts as a basis for its calculation of benefit cost rates".[12]

It is held that the migration of farm labour to non farm jobs itself involves a high degree of social adjustment; for the inherent attachment to land, to one's family and social connections in the village, the reluctance towards the alien social setting of the distant town, the lack of industrial training, and the aversion to be bound by rigid hours of work and mechanical processes are all strong tendencies of a closed rural group. In countries like India, "we seem unable to shake off the past. We live within a series of walls ... And there is an impenetrable wall of conservatism around each individual. These walls have helped us preserve some of the treasures of the past but they make it a slow and difficult matter to introduce changes".[13] Such images of the past however have to be broken as an inevitable concomitant of economic change.

One of the major problems discussed by social scientists is 'urban congestion and rural depletion'. It is taken for granted almost without reason or enquiry that it is a bad thing for villages to lose their population and be 'deserted'. However, in so far as agricultural productivity and living standards rise despite this depopulation, the above is only a fancied evil.' "Instead of suffering farmers, we have found only the sentimental tears that are shed whenever conditions change".[14]

A point that has to be conceded is that the craze for 'labour saving' farm machinery, specially in overpopulated economies, would result in a conservation of time and labour not for all but for a fraction of mankind and a concentration of wealth in the hands of a few. Mechanisation would foster the growth of a

12. Kapp, K. William and Mathew P. N. The transition from a bullock to a tractor economy in India: Some indirect effects and benefits. Quoted in Hindu culture, economic development, and economic planning in India, p. 146-47.

13. Wilcox, E. V., *op.cit.*, p. 148-49.

14. Folsom, J. K., *op.cit.*, p. 145.

wealthy land owning class at the expense of small land owners and tenants; rents will be enhanced as a gesture of the increased contribution by the landlord in terms of the tractors and other mechanised farm implements. That would accentuate the inequality of incomes in the rural community. But this tendency can be offset by a progressive agricultural income tax, with built-in-incentives for inducing investment in rural industries. That would also provide employment opportunities for the displaced agricultural labourers in the local factories themselves.

VII

Thus as in the case of every other programme for progress, mechanisation implies costs as well as benefits to the society. The contention of this paper is that the use of machinery on farms can step up agricultural productivity to such an extent that the immediate social costs of the same would be more than compensated for, by the real advantages at least in the long run.

It is therefore suggested that in the case of overpopulated economies which are characterised by the mutually inclusive phenomena of an agrarian excess population on the one hand and a rather slow rate of industrial development on the other, mechanisation may be introduced gradually. Small tractors and other simple, durable and easy to handle machines may be adopted on the tiny-sized farms to start with; while the large holdings can in fact take to heavy farm machinery. Further partial mechanisation can be undertaken in those areas which experience a labour shortage. Such a scheme accompanied by a general application of science to farming, would help to raise agricultural productivity without enormous displacement of labour. This in turn, would induce a more rapid and smooth industrial progress.

As development proceeds, a state would be reached when the industrial demand for labour will be so high as to necessitate a deliberate rural exodus by resorting to large scale mechanisation, in order that the high rate of growth may be sustained. "As industrialisation advances in developing countries, some of the factors which have encouraged farm mechanisation in America may also arise in them".[15] Mechanisation would become inevitable at that stage; consolidation of small land holdings will have to be

15. The USIS, *op.cit.*, p. 29.

effected to facilitate the adoption of large scale labour saving machinery. By that time, industrial development also would have attained a fairly high level to be able to supply the farm machinery with ease.

Even then care should be taken to see that the consolidation of holdings and the introduction of machinery are achieved within a democratic framework, viz. by coordinating all aspects of agricultural production. It is only through cooperation that a stable social and economic order based on the intrinsic values of individual liberty and initiative can be preserved.

Thus, if properly planned and gradually introduced, farm mechanisation "can be made to serve as an inducement mechanism for the introduction of new forms of organisation, new ways of doing things, new skills, a new discipline and precision — in short, it can lead to a variety of desirable socio-cultural changes".[16]

K. S. Ramaswami Sastri: With the permission of the chair I would like to say a few words on the effects of mechanisation of agriculture. I do not disagree with the views of the leader but I would like to emphasise some points arising from mechanisation. Mechanisation of agriculture has been attempted in countries like U.S.A., U.S.S.R. and other places. We must find out what social consequences have followed in these countries. The displacement of human and animal power by mechanical power is bound to have too far-reaching results on the social and cultural life of the community and before mechanisation is adopted these should be carefully considered. There are obviously advantages in mechanisation. It will reduce drudgery and increase leisure. When tractors are used for the purpose of sowing, watering or ploughing, reaping, harvesting and so on it will save time and labour. But there are disadvantages too. There will be an increase in urbanization with the large exodus of villagers to urban areas. It will also lead to unemployment and the concentration of wealth in a few hands. I would therefore suggest that mechanization may be tried in select areas and the results studied. A coordinated scheme of mechanization may be tried; in order to minimise the consequential unemployment of mechanization diversified industrial employment may be a remedy. The problem of mechanization has therefore to be considered from all these points of view before it is introduced in our country.

16. Kapp, William, K., etc. *op.cit.*, p. 146.

Dr. G. Parthasarathy: Large scale mechanization of a labour saving character in over populated and underdeveloped countries, under currently conceivable rates of growth, is only of academic interest. The reasons are quite clear. The possibility of reducing the *absolute* numbers engaged in agriculture is quite limited. Further, sectors in which the technical substitutability between machines and labour is limited will receive preferential treatment over agriculture in any system of allocation of scarce steel. It also needs to be emphasized that any large scale mechanization of agriculture is rendered possible only in a highly developed industrial complex. Both the social pressures and economic compulsions will help to maintain for long a pattern of distribution of holdings which will not be fundamentally dissimilar to that of the present. If this preceding analysis is accepted, a large part of the discussion in this paper, though useful as generalised statement of relationship between mechanization and social aspects, has little relevance in the immediate context. A more meaningful approach is to identify areas in which mechanisation, though found to be economic, is being inhibited by the rigidity of the social structure, to identify groups within the village community who will be affected by mechanisation, and to examine the relationship between adoption of higher technology and the fundamental traditional values of the society.

At the outset it is useful to clear a widely prevalent misconception of identifying mechanisation with tractorisation. The range of mechanisation is so wide that it will embrace even the simple hand operated weeders, sprayers and dusters. Many of these will fit into the present framework of distribution of holdings, and in recent years remarkable progress has been achieved in the adoption of these. The fact is that the demand of the peasant, at least in India, exceeds the supply of this type of machines. Some of these as electric pumpsets, save labour in specific operations, but their overall effect has been to save land, and intensify the use of labour. Their effect is on specific groups of people like those who are engaged in household manufacture of leather buckets, carpenters and blacksmiths. This does not however mean a complete displacement from their areas of residence. They would generally shift to agricultural labour in the same village. These are marginal adjustments which do not involve fundamental changes either in the social structure or in social stratification. The traditional values of the society are least affected by this

type of mechanisation. The overall effect of this type of mechanisation on the use of animal power is negligible. Even though requirements of animal power are reduced in specific operations, the overall requirements are reduced only slightly as a result of mechanisation.

A quick pace of even this type of mechanisation, the social effects of which are favourable, and social costs negligible, if inhibited, is more attributable to the slow development of technical skills, by way of extension, absence of a network of repair services, lack of adequate credit to meet capital needs, and the slow progress of rural electrification, than the rigidity of the social structure to adopt itself to the new requirements. Peasant society in India has already undergone changes from status to contract, and ties of *Jajmani* system, are not strong enough to act as barriers to introduction of machines, provided such introduction is technically feasible and economically sound. The caste-based occupational pattern has undergone major changes with the weakening of household industries, and mechanisation of this type will only add to further disintegration.

Even though labour surplus is the characteristic feature of overpopulated, and underdeveloped economies, labour shortages are associated with specific agricultural operations, like harvesting and transplanting in all canal irrigaated, rice growing regions. Mass migration of labour class from the dry regions to the neighbouring canal irrigated regions is commonly observed. These result not only in inadequate utilisation of land, but considerable social cost to the labouring class. There is a strong case for mechanisation of such specific operations. In recent years the need for mechanisation of these operations is recognised. But introduction of machines is again being inhibited not by the rigidity of social structure, but by the difficulty of maintaining and operating machines on an economic basis on peasant farms. There is a fundamental conflict between the unit of ownership and management, and the optimum technical unit required for the ownership and maintenance of machines. Social ownership and maintenance, and individual use on a hire basis could resolve this conflict. An implication of this again is not displacement of labour but essentially displacement of immigrant labour for specific operations. It is most likely that the local labour could be more intensively used if as a result of shortening of the crucial periods of operations, multiple cropping possibilities are explored.

A still another area in which mechanisation has undoubted benefits, is in land reclamation. The technical substitutability between labour and land is so limited that even in areas where labour is in surplus, there is demand for tractors and bull dozers for purposes of land reclamation. The main bottleneck here is again inadequate supply of machines for use. Neither social acceptance, nor social consequences would be important considerations.

Replacement of draught cattle by machine power can be achieved only by making the former obsolescent by reducing the area of their use. With the revolution of transport in rural areas, the use of draught cattle will be limited to providing farm yard manure, and to providing the animal power for production purposes. Adequate supplies and use of fertilisers will still further reduce the area of the use on draught cattle. The only inhibiting factor for rapid use of machine, then, will be the pattern of distribution of land holdings. If both social and economic considerations do not favour cooperative joint farms or collective farming, other organisational innovations are preconditions for the use of tractors on peasant farms.

In brief, I would take the view that in areas in which mechanisation is now economically and technically feasible, social acceptance and social consequences are only of secondary importance.

J. Satyanarayana Murti: This is an age of mechanisation, industrial development, technical and technological advancement. The marvellous scientific discoveries gave a fillip to mechanical inventions and industrial growth. The impediments of Space and Time have been obliterated. Human relations have become intimate and the federation of nations easily meet in speedy confabulations for the solution of knotty global problems. The present scientific and industrial era has vouchsafed new power and puissance to modern civilization.

I saw during my stay for nearly two years in the Soviet Union, the effects of rapid mechanization in agriculture. The past methods of agriculture have been impugned. The ploughs plied by horses, out-dated and out-moded, are pooh-poohed. The tractors and the variegated types of machinery have come into vogue. Large scale production, engendered by such mechanization, contributed to the economic well-being of the Soviet Union. A country which four decades ago was under the cruel heels of the Czarist

regime and listened with dismay to the fulminations of economic distress has, as if by the touch of some magic wand, been metamorphosed and has assumed a new aspect of life. U.S.S.R. now stands in juxtaposition with U.S.A. in the enrichment of its national economy and enhancements of its material resources. Our leaders have been viewing with deep interest and intense admiration this wonderful phenomenon in the Soviet Union and endeavouring with ardour and alacrity to incorporate into the tapestry of our national economy the strands of this new life for the obliteration of the penury which has been atrophying the very springs of healthy activity. Happily the Soviet Union has been countenancing these endeavours in the establishment of requisite plants in various parts of our country. We are deeply beholden to all our foreign friends who have been helping us in the implementation of our Five-Year plans.

We should not, however, rush with ebullition head-long into a malestorm. While advocating mechanization, we should not deify Machine or apotheosize Mammon and make ourselves machines. Humanistic tendencies which are inherited in the human heart and divine faculties, which are imbedded in man's inner make-up and which render his life beautiful and sublime, should not be extirpated in the onrush for inordinate materialistic development. The economic history of the world reveals events which threatened, since the Industrial Revolution, to blast the fair fruits of peace and love and fan pugnacious propensities. Some of the nations of the world, equipped with atomic power hurl affront in the face of civilization. Albeit apprehension keeps them aback, unassailed peace cannot prevail unless the global leaders are entrenched in moral considerations, unless the scientific wheel is touched by spiritual grease, and unless the best values of life and the tenets of religion are vindicated.

In this context of global strife, the Gandhian Philosophy and economics could serve as a ballast in steadying the march of the ship of our civilization. Small scale industries must needs as well be encouraged together with large-scale industries. Our cottage industries have been nourished and nursed within the sacred purlieus of domestic environment. Work in such hermitages is always mellowed by the lilt and rhythm of mellifluous songs. Our ancestors while keeping true to the kindred points of sacred tradition and judicious progress added zest and beauty to their lives. Their synthetic approach to our problems is illustrated in their conception

of the fundamental concepts of the idealistic and pragmatic aspects of human life. Dharma, Artha, Kāma and Mokṣa constitute the four fold *puruṣārthas* of human life. Money and desire considered in the light of Dharma or righteous conduct are rendered sacred and sublime.

Sri Ramakrishna Paramahamsa used to say in Bengalee "Zarpathe Kicchunai Oderkachegiye Dharmrkotha boliona" (Don't talk of Religion before empty stomach). Let this apophthegm be integrated with the dictum of Jesus: "Man does not live by bread alone". Physical needs should be subserved while the dignity, the beauty and majesty of the spirit of man are respected.

So the social aspect of the mechanisation of agriculture could be propitious and salutary if the leaves of gold and silver acquired in affluence, are cemented with the transcendental values of life.

Dr. D. V. Rajalakshman: In this paper on social aspects of mechanisation of agriculture there are no specific issues raised with possible explanations and feasible solutions with reference to India. This paper is mainly an exposition of theory with assumptions whose validity in general, and in Indian conditions in particular, cannot be fully justified. The desire to develop generalisations on the complex problem of mechanisation throughout, and propose general policy recommendations naturally resulted in conditional statements that expressed desirability of implementation but with abundant caution leaving procedures of how this can be made unanswered.

Mechanisation in agriculture, in this paper, is taken to cover all machines that can be used in agricultural operations and the entire analysis is built on two assumptions namely (i) use of any machine in itself, acts as a labour substitute leading to displacement of labour from agricultural sector and (ii) there is some-strong opposition to the use of machines in agricultural operations, particularly in India.

Mechanical devices based on improved technology need not always act as labour substitutes. Some simple examples are the use of iron plough or hand operated sprayers. Even the use of a pumping set, though it acts as a labour substitute for the drawing of water, it may lead to other agricultural operations that will not only absorb the labour displaced, but will also require extra labour. As such some forms of mechanisation can act as

a complementary factor of capital input with labour for increasing agricultural productivity. Some other forms of mechanisation will act as labour substitutes only in a specific range of the availability of the other limiting factor, land. Even here, large scale displacement of labour from agriculture, can only be envisaged in special circumstances when labour released by mechanisation from some sectors of agricultural operations exceed by far the consequential increase in labour inputs required in other sectors of agricultural operations and in ancillary activities. Further any mechanisation that increases productivity thus leading to prosperity of peasant community results in increased demand for various consumer requirements, that will absorb labour in activities in the rural community itself, without leaving a large sector of displaced labour.

Essentially the problem discussed in this paper is associated with some specific forms of mechanisation that are likely to displace suddenly a large sector of population from agriculture with no corresponding scope for their smooth absorption in rural employment, thus resulting in influencing the structure of rural community that involves social costs. This implies a big and rapid shift in agricultural practices due to mechanisation leading to a sizable shock into the social structure, adjustment to which involves time and consequential release of forces that have unfavourable social effects resulting some times in a visible disruption of rural life. The cycle described is that of labour displacement from agriculture, leading to unemployment, resulting in migration to urban areas and consequential impact on rural society in disrupting the traditional values. This theme of 'deserted village' is hardly applicable to any of the countries in the world where use of different types of machines has been taking place in agricultural sector.

Introduction of improved machines to increase productivity in agricultural sector has taken place along with opportunities of employment in other activities that have absorbed not only the displaced labour but also absorbed the addition to labour force consequent on natural growth of population in U.S. This along with the availability of sufficient input of land has resulted in the gradual decrease of percentage of total population engaged in agricultural operations. A complete reallocation of available resources on a predetermined pattern with suitable mechanisation aimed to increase production in agricultural sector is the ex-

perience of socialist countries. Mechanical devices that have led to increase in production along with stabilizing the small peasant owner have been successfully demonstrated by Japan. Even the Indian experience of recent years is that of gradual increase in demand for use of machines in agriculture more than the supply can provide, and a visible shortage of labour on agricultural operations inspite of the increase in wages and improved conditions of work. This situation itself is sufficient to question the suitability of the present analysis to India.

The second assumption of opposition to use of machines in agriculture is less tenable in India than even the first assumption. From ancient times some forms of mechanical devises are being used in agriculture and a gradual visible change in them that will add to production can be noted even by a casual observer in recent years in India. Change is indeed an essential element of progress and any society undergoes continuous adjustment to external impulses. One such is the consequence of the use of machines in agricultural operations. Normally any change is introduced by the acceptance of the desirability of the change by some sector of the society or by an imposition from outside as for example the Government which decides the change. In either case, if all groups of society realise the consequences of this decision and adjust to them, the social effects will be beneficial and a smooth and invisible change can take place in values. But if the change is introduced without unanimity of acceptance, that extreme group of the society which is least prepared will take time to adjust, and it is this process that leads to social cost described in the analysis. But the progressive group of society rarely waits till the entire society gets adjusted for a change. Changes take place as random disturbances and this process is a continuous one that generates dynamism in the social structure.

The concept of stability taken from mechanics is associated with an equilibrium attained. If this position is shifted then the system must come back to its original state in the stable equilibrium. Stability, in a dynamic situation at best, can exist with a cyclic change that reverts to the position where the system started. Any dynamism in the system that results in continuous progressive change cannot in itself coexist with the concept of stability. The dynamic stable economic order which the author advocated is very difficult to understand in practice. The only method of explaining this concept is to consider the continuous

change in the social structure in time as being made up of segments with jumps from one position to the other. In each period that is used as a segment the discrepancies in adjustment between the forward and the least ready group can be considered to have been reduced to minimum, so that the level attained as a static picture is stable. This form of analysis though an interesting theoretical exercise, is not of real use either in formulating policies or in implementing them.

Thus it is clear, that the social cost of mechanisation of agriculture, will greatly depend on the nature of mechanisation, and the readiness of accepting the consequences of this change from all sectors of society. This is indeed negligible even in situations where the decisions of implementation are imposed on a society if it is conditioned to take the transition smoothly leading to considerable social benefits. A fruitful line of work in this context would be to examine the types of mechanisation that are taking place in agriculture in India and assess the nature and intensity of social cost to the rural community in contrast to benefits. This will be useful for any practical suggestion for implementation with an insight into the structural changes that are taking place in rural society which is essential for building a progressive and dynamic agricultural sector in India.

To state that no information is available to study different social aspects of mechanisation in India is not fully true. It is quite possible that data available can be inadequate or in some cases not fully reliable. However there is sufficient realisation in the country on the need for strengthening the agricultural sector and also for collecting reliable factual data on which policy decisions will have to be based. Large numbers of fact finding studies have been conducted and equally large numbers are in progress sponsored by governments and also by projects from various organisations. These available data if coordinated and used are adequate to yield more realistic inferences than the theoretical discussion of this paper.

Sri P. N. Appuswami: It is a well thought out and fairly complete paper, which the leader of the seminar has placed before us today. It is not dogmatic, but suggestive. It is not final, but tentative. It is not visionary, but practical.

I am neither a practising agriculturist, nor a theoretical economist. But I believe I know a little about our society. I do not

believe, as some do, undoubtedly most sincerely, that we have evolved the best solution ever, for an ideal life in this world; and that we are the inheritors—without any right in ourselves either to change or modify—of an inspired solution for all ills vouchsafed by partial gods to their own chosen few who lived in the past in this land of ours, through the mouths of sages (or near sages) from time to time. For, if this were wholly true, we should be at the top of the world, at the topmost rung of the ladder, instead of being almost at the bottom; we should have been the helpers of other nations, not so divinely or sagely protected, and not the recipient of favours in all the realms of food, education, knowledge, and even defence.

Our land may be fertile, richly endowed, beautifully located. But, what do these avail us, if we do not use it to the best advantage? Our people may be the best material in the world, but what use are they, if they would not work, if they would not learn, if they would not cooperate, if they would not align themselves with the rest of the world, or use knowledge which is within their grasp?

It is no use asserting that our present conditions are best. We know that they are not; and that our beeming peoples are in danger of starvation. There is not enough food to go round to feed all the voracious, or even the abstemious, mouths of our people—men, women, and children.

It is no use asserting that present conditions are not peculiarly ours, but are universal. We know it is not so. Other countries pour their food—surplus food—to help us. Shall we merely receive or be smug or go one step further, and twit the others for the help they give us, after having sought it, and received it? What is the remedy? How shall we improve our own food supply? The answer cannot be and should not be, that it is not possible to improve it. It is. Only we do not look round, and see: note what we see, and infer: and act wisely on such inferences, logically, carefully, and anxiously made.

We shall need all our resources in men and material, in talent and work, to repair the ravages wrought by two world wars, our meek subjection to other peoples' domination for ages; and by our own lack of initiative, endeavour, sustained effort, and skills. We shall have to make up a lot of lee way. There is no good to be gained by blaming it on others, or by trying to

find scape-goats. However useful it may be in the political field, or to furnish material for platform speeches, it is of absolutely no use in real, practical life, which is rigidly, almost mercilessly, logical. Effect follows cause; action flows from action.

Science and technology serve no purpose if they are not to be used for widening knowledge; and through that knowledge to increase efficiency, to avoid waste, to conserve labour, to maintain and improve standards, and to achieve results. 'The responsibility for the development and application of science (and technology, which will include mechanisation) rests ultimately on the citizens. Scientists can only make things possible, but it is the responsibility of every citizen to get things done'.

Mechanisation would tend to increase the knowledge and skill of the people, and the productivity of the land, and the farm. It would, equally, reduce the number of people employed, and induce them to migrate to cities. But since the land itself cannot move, afforestation, the production and use of more fertilisers, and the fashioning and employment of more tools, more occupation and business by way of transport, and trade, and things like that would absorb much of the rural population. The leader of the seminar has dealt with these aspects fairly fully, and it is needless to dwell on it.

It is my feeling that we should not idly stand by while the other nations of the world forge ahead. If we firmly tackle the problems facing us, benefiting by the experience of others who have been earlier in tackling these problems, we shall surely be a self-reliant, and self-dependant nation, and therefore a happy nation.

Sri S. Govindaswami: I have been listening with rapt attention to the interesting discourse by Dr. (Mrs.) Thamarajakshi. I consider that 'mechanisation of agriculture' is not the same as using modern machinery for some of the agricultural operations like ploughing and lift irrigation. No one can have any objection to mechanical or electrical pumping of water from wells for irrigation, nor for the use of the small tractor for its more thorough ploughing of the land. And, for large tracts like the reclaimed area in Cutch or in our Rajasthan desert, even the bigger tractors, bulldozers, etc. can be used with advantage and wisdom. But, wholesale mechanisation of agriculture in our

country, seems to be fraught with consequences neither congenial to our people, nor suited to our variegated topography and infintesimal units.

Sir, if even cremated persons can turn in their graves, I am sure Gandhiji would be doing that, this afternoon. For, decades ago, when agriculture in India was purely conventional and indigenous in its mode, he found that the peasant here was idle for ten months of the year, and prescribed the restoration of the charka for him and his household as a supplemental occupation which would have the twofold benefit, of self-sufficiency in clothing, and of hitting Lancashire. If, our agriculture which is the life of 80% of our people, is to be mechanised, millions more of our people would be without any work to do. And, rapid industrialisation which is now attracting lots of our masses to industrial areas, urban or rural—are, as a matter of fact, being more rapidly replaced, numerically, by our 'exploding' population. There is thus no question of the problem of 'unemployment' being touched at all by mechanisation of agriculture. We have always had tens of thousands of workless people whom we have glibly called 'unemployed', although 'unemployment' as understood by the West is quite different from worklessness as we have it in India. There, thousands of skilled willing workers are thrown out of their usual employment on replacement by machinery which the employer finds less expensive and easy, less difficult to deal with. Our worklessness, or laziness of the many, is due to terrific increase in numbers, especially in the slum families who can least afford to have more than a child or two per family, and also, definitely, to the unsettlement and dislodging from traditional occupations—like, the carpenter's son not doing carpentry, but seeking a clerk's job.

Coming back to the increased use of machinery in agriculture in India, the first note of caution I would sound is that America is the last country for India to try to emulate. In the U.S.A. they had liquidated the sparse natives, and could start with a clean slate, to establish a way of life to get the best and most, on this planet, out of it; and, by and large, it can be said that they have succeeded preeminently. They had vast tracts of similar topography and resources, to deal with. It was all untapped bounty of Mother Earth. India, on the other hand, had done her best with her Earth, thousands of years ago; and our experts have been telling us that there is little of more land which we could bring under the plough, and that our effort should be to intensify

cultivation and to try for more out of the land already under cultivation for years and years. I could not gather from the main discourse of this afternoon, the precise causal connection between mechanization of agriculture and increase in the yield per acre, in the U.S.A. for instance. They get more yield; and they have mechanised agriculture; that, is not causal connection conclusively made out.

Japan, perhaps, can be our model. But, the small tractor they use is operated by man, so that it displaces only the bullock, and not the peasant. However, that is worthy of trial in view of its improved efficiency. Already our industrialists have started the manufacture of tractors and other agricultural machinery, in our country. There is no doubt, a lot of these machinery *will* be absorbed in our country, if our Panchayats and the Agricultural Department, and/or our Community and Block Development agencies, take some interest in educating our peasants of the advantages of these machines. And, like the Indian sewing machines, our tractors too can be exported to East Indies, Africa, and such other places.

If 'mechanization of agriculture' on the full scale—as I understand it is not to be resorted to, there is bound to be a place, in our agriculture, for the cautious, slow, and limited introduction of modern agricultural machinery like the tractor, and even those like the bulldozer in reclaimed large tracts like those in Cutch and in Rajasthan.

P. K. Radhakanth: As Agricultural Engineer to the Government of Madras I would like to express my views on mechanization of agriculture. Mechanization does lead to increased production. We all know that ploughing with iron tractor does better work than with a wooden plough. The former goes deeper and turns the soil and this inversion leads to aeration of the soil which in turn brings about a better combination of nitrogen and the soil. Intensified ploughing brings about increased production.

As regards sowing row present indigenous methods of sowing by hand are not so advantageous as sowing with mechanical seed drills. The advantages of using these seed drills lie in the fact that the required quantity of seeds can be sown in a line at proper depths; the seed drill besides helps to economize the use of seeds which enables the seeds to be placed in equidistant rows making it possible to use intercultivation implements. Proper and thorough

intercultivation or weeding helps in increased yields. As with the seed drill the requisite amount of seeds alone are sown it helps in the growth of healthier plants and greater yields of crop, as on the whole there are less number of plants to feed on available moisture and nutrients. The recent practice tends towards combining fertiliser placement with the sowing operations, resulting in combined seed cum fertiliser drilling units. This enables the seed and the fertiliser being placed together. So much so there is economy in the use of the fertiliser as the fertiliser is placed just at the required depth and position, and such fertiliser placement helps in increased yields. Mechanization would also help in the harvesting to be done at a much cheaper and faster rate and at the right time thereby preventing losses due to climate and seasonal factors.

So mechanization definitely brings increased production. But I do not think we should copy United States of America or the U.S.S.R. in this matter because their conditions are different. Their farms are between 200 to 300 acres on the average whereas in our country, the farm holdings range from less than one acre to about 30 acres. I therefore suggest that in 1 acre and 2 acre holdings, we may go in for Power Tillers of 8 to 10 H.P. which is popularly used in Japan where conditions are more or less similar to ours. Power Tillers could be used over a wide range of operations, as there are attachments for all operations from ploughing to harvesting. For the larger farms of 5 acres and above we may go in for higher Horse Powered Wheel Tractor with its matched implements.

Our Government is not forcing mechanization on the people. It has been left to their choice. Big farmers are helped with big tractors and small farmers with small machines. The ryots themselves know the correct choice. Though illiterate they have been careful in choosing the types of machinery and in many cases we find that they are fully informed of the advantages and disadvantages of various units under the conditions which prevail in our country.

I wish to conclude by saying that mechanization is bound to come as industrialization progresses rapidly.

Dr. N. Subramaniam: Mrs. Tamarajakshi's main concern in this evening's talk was to discover the utility and feasibility of mechanising agriculture in India; if that is so, I feel, two problems

arise: that is, the limits within which mechanisation is possible in view of the smallness of the average holdings and the resistance to modern techniques by the backwardness of the average Indian peasant; that is, his incompetence to understand and implement techniques of mechanical ploughing, sowing and harvesting. The former is attempted to be answered by socialists by recommending cooperative farming. This has been a vexed problem and much has been said on both sides; still the residuary feeling is that the Indian peasantry are too traditional and personally motivated to be able to make the sacrifices needed to bring about cooperation in farming. The education that is expected to reform the economic motivation of the yeomanry belongs to the future and will herald a struggle between reform and tradition, the result of which no one can predict now. In regard to the second point, the poverty and the illiteracy of the farmer are facts which cannot be wished away; to say that mechanisation is a step toward enriching and enlightening them is to start a vicious circle.

Experience shows that the feeble attempts currently made by bureaucratic agencies to popularise tractors and other agricultural machines to boost production have yielded no results; this makes one wonder whether departmental accelerators can ever speed up agricultural production by enthusing a proverbially lethargic peasantry in the country side. But now, the problem is not mechanisation but enthusiasm which comes of incentives. These, of course, can be provided by judicious governmental farm price policy.

But the problem of mechanisation is more relevant in a wider context. It can be summarised as a conflict between the living personality of man and the dead routine of the machine. The quantitative increase in agricultural production needed to keep pace with and eventually overtake the increase in population to avert a Malthusian tragedy, is a real necessity. But it must be realised, with or without regret, that when this increase is achieved by mechanical means, our country side will look different and our peasant's way of life and all the traditions associated therewith will be wiped off. We will be achieving willy-nilly a different (I am not sure of its being a better) society; for we know the peasant in the far off countryside will be the last to be affected in any large scale social change.

Deviating slightly from the main topic of the day, I may add that when the era of robots and computers and other mechanical,

electronic substitutes for human thinking and action, arrives and advances, certain values for which the human person is known and cherished will disappear, for we receive grim indications of a possible substitution of even human will and reason, wish and thought by electronic devices. Perhaps it is undesirable to anticipate and fear too much such developments, like the Laputans; but everyone who is concerned with the problem of mechanisation, to whatever extent and in whatever field, must somewhat remember the social implications of the process.

Dr. (Mrs.) R. Thamarajakshi (Reply): I have been listening with great interest to the remarks made by some of my friends here.

Broadly I discern three strands of critical opinion expressed.

In the first place, I have been misunderstood to advocate large scale and instantaneous mechanisation; far from it, it is only suggested that there should be a gradual introduction of mechanisation. Thus small tractors, power tillers of 8 to 10 h.p. and other simple, easy to handle machines may be adopted on the tiny sized farms to start with; while the larger holdings can immediately take to heavier farm machinery. Partial mechanisation of areas with labour shortage and of lands to be reclaimed can also be undertaken forthwith. Such a programme accompanied by a general application of science to farming should help to raise agricultural productivity without enormous displacement of labour; that would in turn induce a faster pace of industrial production and therefore of overall development. This would further increase the demand for labour, and thus necessitate speedy mechanisation. This process will thus result in cumulative economic advancement.

Secondly there seems to be an unfounded misconception among some of the participants here that the problems of social acceptance or social consequences of mechanisation are either none at all or only of secondary importance. This is however an oversimplification of the actual state of affairs in traditional, agricultural economics. Of course, any change in the mode of cultivation has to be judged from the points of view of economic and technical feasibility; but that is not all. It is fairly well established that economic growth is a complex function of economic and noneconomic variables.

If it were a fact that there were practically no social problems in connection with farm mechanisation, then, I should have expect-

ed an elite of an audience as today's to have questioned the basis of mechanisation purely on theoretical and technical grounds alone. But I find that statements such as mechanisation "not being congenial to our people", "having too far-reaching results on the social and cultural life of the community" and as "threatening to blast the fair fruits of peace and love, and to fan pugnacious propensities"—have been made during the course of today's discussions. The prolem of mechanisation has been summarised by one of the observers here, "as a conflict between the living personality of man and the dead routine of the machine". Such observations as above afford a fair indication of the fact that there is an apprehension among many of us that mechanisation might disrupt our social values and beliefs; and whether this apprehension is justified or not, it is in itself enough to delay the process of mehanisation.

Further, a statement of the social costs of mechanisation in terms of acceptance and of consequences is not a mere dabbling in theoretical and academic exercises. A recent survey by Prof. P. N. Masaldan, of attitudes of people towards planning in U.P. reveals that the agricultural labourers, not being habituated to the regular and systematic work involved in the techniques of sowing of wheat and rice, dibbling for seed multiplication and the Japanese method of paddy cultivation, "resist them and prefer working along traditional lines". If that is so even with respect to improved *techniques*, the question of attitudes and adjustments should be more pertinent in the context of introduction of *machines* on farms.

Moreover, the very participants who emphasise the irrelevance or insignificance of social considerations in relation to the question of farm mechanisation however have made statements which directly or indirectly involve these social considerations. That it has been observed by one of them that the only inhibiting factor for rapid use of machines then will be the pattern of distribution of land. But I should like to stress that the pattern of land distribution is not the result of a unique set of economic determinants. On the contrary, it is in fact the outcome of a particular fabric of a whole series of social, institutional, structural, organisational and historical factors.

Similarly, another participant in today's discussions, who maintains that there is no opposition whatsoever to the use of machines in agricultural operations, particularly in India, has however found it not possible to extricate his reasoning from the

inevitable problems of "change and adjustment". It is thus paradoxical that he accepts that "if all the groups of society realise the consequences of this decision (i.e. of change), and *adjust* to them, the social effects will be beneficial" (Italics mine). Thus he agrees that there *are* problems of adjustment (i.e. of acceptance and consequences). But one is at a loss to know how these *problems* would *disappear* when according to him "the progressive group of society rarely waits till the entire society gets adjusted for a change." While it may not be disagreed that changes could take place as *random* disturbances, yet, on that account, they do not and cannot cease to be *disturbances.*

In this context, I should like to clarify that no reference has been made in the paper to a "dynamic stable social order." On the contrary, it very well realises that "social stability ceases to exist on the onset of industrialisation."

Finally, it has been misinterpreted that one of the assumptions on which the entire analysis of this evening's paper has been built up is that "use of any machine in itself acts as a labour substitute, leading to a displacement of labour from agricultural sector." While I do stress that mechanisation, even in the narrowest sense of the term should reduce the labour time needed for a particular job and thereby imply a saving of human effort, yet no categorical conclusion has been made in my paper that it leads to a permanent curtailment of employment opportunities. On the contrary, a careful perusal of the paper should reveal, that it in fact seeks to *answer* the oft quoted criticism against mechanisation that it creates unemployment; and that it takes full consideration of all the compensatory and long-term effects on employment subsequent to mechanisation.

However it cannot be denied that mechanisation, in a wider sense, in reference to a long period of time and in the context of dynamic development, would in fact lead to a migration of rural labour into non-farm jobs, which without a programme of deliberate locational planning, are more prone to be found in the town rather than in the rural areas themselves. With this inevitable long run possibility of migration of rural labour into urban centres then, it cannot be said that there are *no* social problems involved in this process of population movement. All the same, the paper distinguishes these problems of movement itself from the effects of that movement on the villages. Thus it categorically dismisses

the theme of "deserted village" as a "fancied evil." Despite this clear statement of view, the author is at a loss to comprehend as to why a participant has taken pains to pooh-pooh the theme of "deserted village", as if it has not been already done in the paper.

Anyway, I am happy the paper has stimulated thought.

Prof. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri: (concluding remarks): There has been a much more lively discussion on this subject than I anticipated and I am grateful to the members who have taken part in this seminar.

I am thankful to Dr. Thamarajakshi for her having led this discussion and wound it up so ably. The subject is very interesting and very many spoke. We can go on talking for ages. But she wound it up by saying that it would be difficult for rapid mechanisation to take place and that it would be impossible to introduce wholesale changes. Nothing should be done so rapidly and however much we may be in a hurry to achieve results, things will take their own course. Improvement in agriculture must be effected soon or we stand to lose a great deal. As a matter of fact, great transitions of the world from the mediaeval look to the modern look, are associated with science and technology. Agrarian revolution has played a very prominent part which has spread over several decades, and several improvements have been effected which have resulted in increased production. Scientific development has played a great part in modern society.

But we in India are not quite modern. We still sometimes speak of the glory of our past achievements, our spiritual outlook and of our traditions and all that. The subject before us is what are the social effects of mechanisation of agriculture. There is also the reverse side, whether the social situations are hindering or furthering the mechanisation process. I think our society is responsive to new ideas though often slowly and hesitantly. What we have to consider is whether we will continue to dwell on the glories of the past or whether we should change and take to Americanised or Westernised ideas. There is no doubt that the solution for India will not be the same as that found in other countries, least of all American. America is a class by itself. I do not think there will be a second America in the world. This was rightly stressed in the course of the debate.

We have other countries like France, Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia and Japan in particular, an Asian country in many

ways similar to us and we can adopt good things from them wherever possible.

I do not think that all this planning on food production has been fully successful. Even six years back, our Food Minister made an announcement that there will be no more imports. But we are now importing millions of tons of rice and wheat and so on.

I do not want to criticise on this point but I do want to mention that there is something wrong somewhere in our agriculture. Our food production policy is to be studied from A to Z and carefully planned in every little detail. The Israeli Consul General from Bombay pointed out at a meeting recently that details such as methods of irrigation, quality of seed, method of sowing, tending farms during proper seasons, of harvesting and so on can be improved by thought; each of the changes may be inconsiderable but in the aggregate they will amount to a great difference. The use of implements and machines is of course necessary and must come in wherever possible even in small holdings.

At the end of the 19th century, a German specialist in Agriculture was asked to report on general agriculture and its conditions in India. At that time with his knowledge and with his experience, he gave a very splendid report stating that we have nothing to teach the Indian farmer. That was sometime in the nineties of last century.

I do not think that any agrarian expert will say that today about the Indian farmer. We have much to learn. I happen to be looking after a school, which has a farm of its own, a farm of 40 acres or so. The boys tried certain experiments and gained some experience. They were fortunate that their new methods resulted in perceptible increase in the quantum of our output. It is a matter of trial and error. We have to learn carefully, step by step and Science and Technology can help us.

One of our great Ministers said that Agriculture is a gamble. Indian agriculture, I wish to say, is certainly a gamble. If you do not get seasonal rains, all the talk of our science and technology, seed control, fertilisers etc., will not help.

You are, to a large extent, dependent upon nature. Even science and technology have to depend on nature. Social factors

do affect all aspects of national life which in turn depend on the basic good character among the citizens. People must be willing to cooperate with each other, to give each other mutual help, show goodwill and good intentions and work together. Otherwise, even the best plan will be miscarried. Whatever, may be the nature of our national character and social outlook we have got to make a large leeway, whether it be mechanisation on a large scale or on a small scale. We need both at different levels. Unless we have mechanisation in some form or other, our agriculture will stagnate. Stagnation of agriculture will be at our peril. I think in our country it is easy to exaggerate the perils of urbanization and industrialization as arising from mechanisation in agriculture. Japan has shown the way of combining highly productive small farms and big industry.

I thank you all very much for your cooperation.

SECTION III: BIBLIOGRAPHY OF BOOKS AND ARTICLES

(*Note*: Titles of books and periodicals are in italicts; under each subject and country books are listed first and then articles, all in alphabetical order).

Abbreviations

BSOAS:	Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies
EW:	East and West
IAC:	Indo Asian Culture
JAOS:	Journal of the American Oriental Society
JBRS:	Journal of the Bihar Research Society
JRAS:	Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland
TI:	Times of India

ANTHROPOLOGY

INDIA:

Shah, P. G.: *Tribal Life in Gujarat,* (Gujarat Research Society for the Regional Planning Committee of Govt. of India. Rs. 20, Rev. *Bharat Jyothi,* (Bombay), 15-11-64):

The book is a monumental compilation about the life and customs of the tribes of Gujarat with special reference to the 'Dhanka Tribe'. Three years of intense and exhaustive study at close quarters by a band of scholars, and the author's personal contact for 25 years, aided by works of earlier research authorities have made it possible to ensure a comprehensive and complete picture.

INDONESIA:

Pakan, L: 'Beberapa hal jang menarik perhatian dalam masjarakat Toradja Selatan' (Some interesting characteristics about the community in South Toradja): (Bahs. Bud. 9 (5-6), 1961: 254-62):

The article deals with 1. Cosmology in Toradja mythology. 2. The birth of Man's ancestor. 3. The story of Man's ancestor. 4. The significance of a great family house in the family system.

5 and 6 Social strata, 7 Society and 8 Burial and wedding ceremonies. 9. The origin of the village. 10 and 11 The Toradja calender. 12. Belief in spirits.

ARCHAEOLOGY

INDIA:

Fisher, Klaus: *Caves and Temples of the Jains.* (The Jaina Academy Publications, 4, (Aliganj, The World Jain Mission, 1965, pp. vii, 42, with plates). Rev. *EW*, Sept. Dec. 1963, p. 242):

Guide to all Jain monuments from the earliest to modern times. Fully serves its purpose, indicates routes to monuments, and gives their character, chronology etc. Comprehensive bibliography and extensive index.

Tucci, Giuseppe: 'An Image of a Devī discovered in Swat and some connected Problems' (*EW*, Sept-Dec. 1963, pp. 146-182, illustrated):

'I would place the image at about the 8th, 9th century A.D. It should, as a consequence, stand as a specimen of Hindu Shahli art, which has left far better examples both in stone and bronze. An art which has so far been little studied' (180). Hinduism flourished in Gandhāra side by side with Buddhism, and so did Hindu art.

ART

INDIA:

Kowshik, Dinkar: *Age and Image* (Illus. 94 pp. Allied Publishers (P) Ltd., New Delhi. Rs. 12):

The book covers the story of Indian Art from proto-historic period of Mohenjo-daro and brings the survey to a close, by presenting the most contemporary phases in modern art with a commendable perspective. The book will specially meet the growing demand of various institutions of art and universities where history of Indian art forms a subject of study.

Mukerjee, Radhakamal (Dr): *The Cosmic Art of India* (100 art plates, Allied Publishers (P) Ltd., New Delhi, pp. 350. Rs. 50):

The aim of the author in this brief study is to clarify the interdependence of feeling and form and interpret the images, symbols and motifs as well as the rhythmical patterns and intrin-

sic sensuous qualities of art as the pictorial version of India's immortal metaphysics and yoga revealing what is both humanly cosmic and cosmically human. A synthesized philosophical approach which is essential for this undertaking is provided by the unique Indian theory and art of rasa, expounded by Bharata in his Nāṭya Śāstra and systematized through the centuries as the foundation of art creation and appreciation.

Krishnan, Y.: 'Was Gandhāra Art a product of Mahāyāna Buddhism?', *JRAS,* 1964 (Oct.), pp. 105-119:

The answer to the question raised is generally negative; the Hīnayāna character of the art is stressed and 'The artistic remains in the Gandhāran region which are clearly of Mahāyānic including Tantric inspiration, are posterior to the period in which Gandhāra art flourished and are a product of a different artistic tradition'.

CULTURE

GENERAL:

La Lune. Myths et. Rites: (Sources Orientales' Paris Editions du Senil, 1962, pp. 374 Rev. *EW,* Sepr.-Decr., 1963, pp. 266-7):

Different countries treated by different hands; the countries and the people are Egypt, Sumer, Babylonia, Hittites and Hurrites, Canaan and Israel, Arabs and Islam, ancient Iran, India, Cambodia, China, Japan, and Siberian and Eskimo peoples.

Mukerjee, Radhakamal, (Dr.): *The Philosophy of Personality,* (pp. 246, Allied Publishers (P) Ltd., New Delhi, Rs. 16.50):

The original and impressive volume presents systematically a philosophical view of personality. The concept of personality, according to the author, remains incomplete and self-defeating if it be merely psychological or sociological. The author examines in the course of a stimulating discussion the norms and dimensions of sexuality, of morality, of religion and the general laws of cosmic affiliation.

Richert, Charles: *The Story of Civilization Through the Ages,* (pp. 105, Allied Publishers (P) Ltd., New Delhi, Rs. 3/-):

A comprehensive survey of human history from its early beginings to the present time. The author has touched upon the history of all countries and has tried to depict the progress of mankind from barbarism to the present beginnings of civilization.

Shah, Prof. A. B.: *Scientific Method,* (pp. 144, Allied Publishers (P) Ltd., New Delhi, Rs. 8/-):

This is the first Indian book on Scientific Method written in a non-technical, non-pedantic style without diluting the rigour of ideas. It makes a sharp distinction between science as quest and science as conquest, and between truth as understood by the scientist and truth as understood by the mystic or the artist. The former, according to the author, is empirical in content, secular in nature and rational in structure; the latter is non-discursive and intensive, incapable of being put to any crucial test. The book then deals with the hypothetico-deductive structure of scientific theories. It ends with an examination of the problem of human relationships, including that of ethics, in the light of the scientific method. The discussion is throughout illustrated with example from the daily life of the Indian people.

Wasi, Muriel: *Bricks and Mortar,* (Asia Publishing House, Bombay, price Rs. 8/- Rev. *IAC,* 1964 (Oct.), pp. 156-9):

This is an education anthology. Teaching the teacher is the main problem of the day, and Mrs. Wasi gives a very effective recipe for it.

ASIA:

Mathew, Helen G. (Ed.): *Asia in the Modern World,* (pp. viii, 288, Bibliography, Index, New York: The New American Library of World Literature Inc. 1963. $. 75 Rev. *JAOS,* 84(1) (Jan-March, 1964), p. 98):

Thoughtfully prepared text. Series of essays by specialists. 'Asian Asia' non-western and non-Mediterranean is a triangle with W. Pakistan, Japan and Indonesia at the corners. Three parts: first introduction to Asia as a whole; variety of appraoches with emphasis on religious arts and geography.' East and West throughout the centuries' is a chapter that tells what India and China have given the West. The point is stressed that Asia in its civilization has as much to offer the world as does the West. The second division is the core of the book; chapters of separate authorship on individual countries adding depth to the broad coverage of the first section. The focus is on China, Japan and India considered at great length. Korea and Pakistan have shorter chapters of their own and South East Asia is included in one chapter with a brief introduction and then surveys of each of seven countries (Burma, Thailand, Cambodia, Vietnam, Malaya, Indonesia and the Philip-

pines). Some repetition of matter of first section. Third section briefly considers Asia as a whole since World War II centering on political and economic changes and comparing developments within the major countries. The final chapter outlining programmes for teachers and advanced students. Among contributors to the volume are: Mantle Hood, Benjamin Rowland, Norton Ginburg, R. L. Crane, Shannon Mecure, Brian Harrison and Ward Morehouse. Not the least attraction is its first appearance as a paper back with price right for the student.

INDIA:

Arberry, A. J.: *Handlist of the Arabic Manuscripts*, (Vol. VI. The Chester Beatty Library. Dublin: Hodges Figgis & Co., pp. 168 + 22, 1963. Rev. *JRAS*, 1964 (Oct.), p. 136 (by A. S. Tritton):

As beautifully produced as those which preceded; many items appear to be unique but hopes of finding something important are not rosy. Alchemy is well represented. The plates are of the customary high quality. One hopes there will be an index volume.

Barnouw, Erik and Krishnaswamy. S.: *Indian Film* (Orient Longmans, Bombay, Rs. 25/- Rev. *Hindustan Standard*, 30-8-64):

This book, Indian Film, is an attractive compendium supplying both an historical survey and the inestimable possibilities of the institution. It has judged all Indian films as an institutional and cultural whole. Bombay and Calcutta have been the principal film-producing centres and now Madras has come to the fore, thanks to men like Vasan and Meyyappan. The Indian film as an internationally appreciated art-commodity has reached its culmination in Satyajit Ray whose sequence of acquistitions of international laurels has been astounding. The multiple problems of the Indian film industry and its trends have been usefully assessed by the authors against proper perspective.

Blair, Chauncey, J: *Heat in the Rigveda and Atharvaveda*: A general survey with particular attention to some aspects and problems: *American Oriental Series*, Vol. 45 *Am. Or. Soc.*, New Haven, Connecticut, 1961, $ 5. (Rev. *JRAS*, 1963, pp. 107-8):

Many vedic passages cited in transliterated text and clearly translated well classified and carefully analysed with some new interpretations proposed. Traditional interpretation of Atri story reversed. The book is well produced with indexes, lists and cross-references; summary of conclusions given in the introduction,

pp. 4-9. The material provided facilitates an historical-linguistic study of *tapas*.

Buddha Prakash: *India and the World*, (Hoshiarpur, V. V. R. Institute, V.I. series, 31, 1964, pp. 12 and 292, Rs. 20):

The subtitle is 'Researches in India's policies, contacts, and relationships with other countries and peoples of the world.' There are fifteen essays in the book; the first is general, and the last three deal with Central Asia in the geography of the Ramayana, India and the Red Sea regions and India and the West. The intervening essays are given mostly to different parts of S. E. Asia with a last one on Śakadvīpa. The views of different writers are cited and discussed at every point, and as the whole ground is rather obscure and much speculation is a necessary part of the work, agreement with the author's views on all points may be difficult. The work is a useful contribution to a rather neglected field.

Catlin, Prof. George, E. G.: *Rabindranath Tagore*, (pp. 56, Allied Publishers (P) Ltd., New Delhi, Rs. 5.50/-):

The book comprises the Lecture delivered by Professor George E. G. Catlin before the Royal Society of Arts, Royal India, Pakistan and Ceylon Society in London. The author deals with Tagore the man, the poet and the political and social theorist. He portrays the great poet as the "Great sentinel" of India's treasure of spiritual values. Prof. Catlin has analyzed, with the eye of an expert, both the political and literary aspects of Tagore's writings.

Dandekar, R. N. *Vedic bibliography. Second volume*, (xxiii, 760 pp., Poona, University of Poona, 1961, Rs. 30/- 45 s. Rev. *BSOAS*, xxv (2), 1962, pp. 415-6):

Vol. I published in 1946 (*New Indian Antiquary*, Extra series VII, Karnatak Publishing House, Bombay). Undertaken as a supplement to Renou's *Bibliographie*. This volume is twice the size of the first and contains 6000 entries, not all of which are of real value. For instance the 253 entries under 'Philosophy general and India' have no relevance, even indirect, to vedic studies.

Danielou, Alain: *Hindu Polytheism*, (Routlege and Kegan Paul, London, 1963, pp. xxxii and 537, plates 32. Text figures 8, charts and diagrams 10. 60 s. net):

Principal topics are: the polytheistic philosophy, the gods of the Vedas, the Great Trinity, the Goddess, and the secondary Gods, forms of worship and representations. 'It emphasizes that aspect

of the Indian in which religion and philosophy are indissolubly linked. It is Hinduism in its entirety, seen from a particular point of view which it presents to us' (Renou in a review of the French edition in *Diogenes*).

Datta, Dr. K. K.: Vice-Chancellor, Magadh University, *Dawn of Renascent India:* (10 plates, pp. 200 Allied Publishers (P) Ltd., New Delhi, Rs. 15/-):

The volume presents a critical study of India's social life and culture during the first half of the nineteenth century. The author carefully analyzes the forces which helped the advent of a renaissance and the factors which promoted social reform.

Datta, K. K. and others (Ed.): *Dr. T. P. Chowdhury Memorial Volume,* (JBRS, Vol. XLVI, Jan.-Dec., 1960, parts I-IV, pp. viii, iv. 377, price Rs. 20/-):

A collection of thirty-five research papers by different scholars and some book reviews (pp. 361-77) preceded by a memoir of Chowdhury by K. K. Datta. The papers cover many aspects of India's history, archaeology and culture.

Dutt, Sukumar: *Buddhist Monks and Monasteries in India. Their History and their Contribution to Indian Culture.* (London, G. Allen & Unwin, 1962, pp. 397). Rev. *EW*, Sepr-Decr., 1963, pp. 276-7 (G. Tucci):

In 1924 the author published a book on Early Buddhist Monachism, Buddha and five following centuries. The present volume is on the Sangha and incidentally on the leading personalities who lived and worked there. Statements made on Mahāyāna which modern researches have disapproved. But the main aim is to show for general readers the immense contribution of Buddhism and Buddhist universities and monasteries to Indian culture.

Ezekiel, Nissim (Ed.): *Indian Writers in Conference,* (P. E. N. All India Centre; price Rs. 10/- Rev. *TI*, dt. 6-9-64):

The major speeches and papers read at the sixth Writers' Conference organised by the P.E.N. (Mysore, 1962) have been neatly edited in this volume in four sections. The last of these is a compilation on humour in Indian literature with over a dozen writers surveying their respective languages. This is solid fare even if the contributions are not uniform in perceptiveness or analysis.

Filliozat Jean: *Inde: Nation et Tradition,* (pp. 272. Paris. Horizons de France 1961. 75 N.F. Rev. *JAOS*, 84-1 (Jan.-March, 1964), pp. 88-9, Ainslee T. Embree):

Although intended for a popular audience, elegance of literary style and authority of scholarship place this book in quite a different category from other introductions to Indian civilization. The book is handsomely illustrated with illustrations, maps, paintings (some in colour), and samples of Indian scripts. A brief bibliography, but no index.

Ghurye, G. S.: *Gods and Men*, (pp. 300, Bombay, Popular Book Depot, 1962. Rev. *JRAS*, 1964, pp. 63-4):

A valuable study. The comprehensiveness of the sources gives rise to the chief shortcoming of the work—the tendency to lose sight of the main themes under a welter of factual data. This is particularly true of the chapters on a specific aspect of a very much larger subject such as the development and eventual sublimation of the phallic character of Rudra-Śiva; the evolution of Viṣṇu Kṛṣṇa and Rāma, and the syncretic nature of Devī worship. Skanda and Gaṇeśa, two relatively minor deities, are thoroughly analysed in the largest section of the book, tho' Purāṇic accounts of Gaṇeśa are not fully used and there is no mention of Puṣṭi, a consort of Gaṇeśa. Also interesting studies of Hanumān, Viṭhoba and Datta. Extensive index but no bibliography.

Jaideva Sing (ed.): *Pratyabhijñāhṛdayam* by Kṣemarāja with English translation and notes, (Motilal Banarsidas, Delhi, 1963, pp. 31 + 510-2, price Rs. 10/- Rev. *Adyar Libr. Bulletin*, May 1964, pp. 151-2):

The translation is an improvement on that of Leidecker published in 1938 by Adyar library. The introduction is valuable. In the analysis of contents the editor gives a gist of the subjects treated in each of the twenty aphorisms. The notes explain some difficult points relating to the text. Three useful indexes, a glossary of technical terms, index of Sanskrit words and English index are aids to the reader.

Majumdar, A. K.: *Bhakti Renaissance*. Bhāratiya Vidyā Bhavan (Bombay, 1965, pp. viii and 86 Rs. 5/-):

This small book contains eight chapters and deals succinctly with the mediaeval and modern Bhakti movements and literature in N and S. India. The last chapter on Bhakti in Politics is quite interesting and makes some points not generally stressed so far.

Mitra, Dr. Sisirkumar: *Resurgent India*, (pp. 440 Allied Publishers (P) Ltd., New Delhi, Rs. 26/-):

Resurgent India is a moving story of India's awakening from her long night of sleep—a night that was really 'a needed waning and dying of old forms to make way for a new and perfect creation'. Against the background of a quick and breathtaking survey of her past, it opens up a series of new visions and a high idealism, in thought and action, as India's response to the nineteenth-century upsurge the world over. Beginning with the first of the moderns, Raja Rammohun Roy and his followers, through a brilliant succession, sometimes a simultaneous appearance, of a host of outstanding figures, in art, literature, science, religion, philosophy, yoga, politics, education, it reaches the finale in the divinely guided career of Sri Aurobindo, 'the last of the Rishis'. Presaging a wider fulfilment of the earliest Vedic vision, he reveals the truth of man's 'inevitable evolution' into a higher than mental being, not only for India but for the whole world. A profound, perceptive and challenging thesis on the inner values of India's immemorial cuture and of her all-embracing spirituality as reflected in her modern resurgence.

Nilakanta Sastri, K. A.: *The Culture and History of the Tamils* (Firma K. L. Mukhopadyay, Calcutta, Rs. 10/-):

A comprehensive text book on the Tamils' political, economic, social and religious history, their literature and fine arts, from ancient period to the eighteenth century, it gives the highlights of Tamil cultural achievement, providing a good insight into and persepective of Tamil influence in the nineteenth century. Its several illustrations and plates recommend it as a basic background book on Tamil culture history. The author has made it at once interesting, entertaining and informative.

Pandey, Kanti Chandra: *Abhinavagupta* (an historical and philosophical study. Second edn. revised and enlarged. The Chowkhamba Sanskrit studies, Vol. I, 1. ii, 1014, pp. plate, Varanasi, Chowkhamba Sanskrit Series Office, 1963, Rs. 40/- Rev. *BSOAS*, 1964, pp. 500-1):

This second edn. of Pandey's pioneering and fundamental study of the works of Abhinavagupta, the leading figure in Kashmir Śaiva literature, may serve to remind scholars how little has been done in the last 27 years since the first edition appeared, to pursue the study of Āgamic literature and to integrate the ideas which it embodies with those of the better known *darśana* literature. There is however a new and growing interest in early Hindu religious literature coinciding with this new edition's appearance. The bio-

graphy now includes an attractive and skilfully executed portrait of Abhinavagupta painted on the basis of a contemporary description, under Prof. Pandey's guidance.

Prakash, Buddha: *Studies in Indian History and Civilization*, (pp. 444, Shri Lal Agarwala & Co. (P) Ltd., Agra, 1962, Rs. 15/- Rev. *JRAS* 1964, p. 65, Bivar):

A stimulating collection of esays which extends over the whole range of early Indian history from the invasion of Alexander down to the medieval period. Too much reliance on the confused Purāṇic evidence and on the Alexander Romance.

Sen, Gertude Emerson: *The Story of Early Indian civilization.* (Orient Longmans, 1964, pp. 294, Maps and illustration, Rs. 6/-):

An abridged and revised edition of *The Pageant of Indian History* Vol. I (New York, 1948). A racy and readable account that goes up to the eighth century A.D. not, however, always authentic in its embellishing details.

Suryavanshi, Bhagwansingh: *The Abhiras, their History and Culture.* (M. S. University, Archaeology and Ancient History series No. 6, Faculty of Arts, M. S. Univ. of Baroda, Baroda, 1962, pp. xvi, 119, Rev. *EW*, Sepr.-Decr., 1963, pp. 243-4 (by G. Tucci):

Difficult subject owing to paucity and disparity of sources. 'I cannot say that the treatment of the subject is always convincing. The material so diligently gathered would have greatly benefited by a more severe and precise method of approach'.

Tivari, Chitra: *Śūdras in Manu* (Motilal Banarsidas, Delhi, Patna, Varanasi, 1963, pp. 99. Rs. 10/-):

The author says 'this little piece of research' was done 'about a decade ago' for a dissertation approved for the M.A. Degree of the Benares Hindu University. It deals primarily with the code of Manu, but refers to other writers also for comparison and draws much on Ambedkar's writings. There is some confusion between the status of the Sudra and untouchability, which has now been made illegal.

Wheeler, Sir Mortimer: *The Indus Civilization.* (Supplementary volume of the *Cambridge History of India* (Cambridge Univ. Press, 1960, pp. xi + 106, 14 figures in the text, 2 folding, plans, xxvi, plates). Rev. *EW*, Sept-Dec. 1963, pp. 236-42):

First Edition 1953. This revised edition is brought uptodate with the results of recent excavations. The new evidence shows

extension of area of culture to Jumna basin in East and Narmadā, Tapti estuaries in the south. Indigenous origin of urban culture rendered probable by recent Kot Diji evidence. Maritime contacts more important now than before, and relation between Aryan advent and fall of Indus culture still unsolved. The decline of Indus culture rather slow and rise of allied cultures in rest of India seen in recent work.

Banerjee, Dr. P.: 'Early History of Vaishṇavism'. (*IAC*, Oct., 1964, pp. 120-9):

Traces the origin and early history of the Bhāgavata cult using literary and archaeological evidences; select bibliography at end.

Chatterjee, S. C.: Technical, Education in Ancient and Mediaeval India. (*IAC, Oct.,* 1964, pp. 117-9):

A cursory survey from prehistory to 18th century. 'The all-round technical education of ancient India was responsible for her great discoveries in the field of chemical arts and manufactures which enabled her to command for more than a thousand years the markets of the East and West and secured to her a universally recognized pre-eminence among the nations of the world.'

Ramanatha Ayyar, V, and Aithal, K. Parameswara: 'Kārpāsa Cotton; Its origin and spread in Ancient India', *Adyar Lib. Bulletin,* May 1964, Vol. xxviii, pts. 1-2, pp. 1-40):

A well documented study ending with eleven numbered conclusions at the end, the first of these being: Kārpāsa is the name of a cotton variety spotted and domesticated by the Austro-Asiatic language speaking tribes like the Muṇḍas and Santals living in the hill jungles of South Bihar, Orissa and West Bengal long prior to 800 B.C.

Sarva Daman Sing: The Elephant and the Aryans—*JRAS,* 1963, pp. 1-6):

'The proto-Australoids were perhaps the first people to domesticate and train the elephant; the words *gaja* and *mātanga* have been traced to the pre-Aryan peoples of India speaking Austric languages. The elephant was known and tamed not in India alone, but elsewhere at a comparatively early date'. Many Egyptian and Vedic references discussed in detail.

Subramania Aiyar, K. A.: 'Bhartrhari on Vyākarana as a means of attaining Mokṣa', Brahma-Vidyā, *Adyar Lib. Bulletin,* May 1964, Vol. xxviii, pts. 1-2, pp. 112-131):

'This paper is an attempt to bring together and to understand the statements and indications found in the verses of the *Vākyapadīya* and the ancient commentary (*vṛtti*) thereon regarding the two aims, *abhyudaya* and *niḥśreyasa,* of the science of grammar mentioned in the *Mahābhāṣya* among others' (p. 114-5). 'The light of the creator resides in the grammarian and on his death merges in the great wordprinciple, its own source and the source of everything else (p. 131).

INDOCHINA:

Bali: studies in life, thought, and ritual. (Selected studies on Indonesia by Dutch Scholars, Vol. 5) xiv, 434 pp. The Hague: W. Van Hoeve Ltd. for the Royal Tropical Institute, Amsterdam, 1960, guiders 19·75 Rev. *BSOAS,* xxv(2), 1962, pp. 403-4 by C. Von Furer-Haimendorff:

Dr. J. L. Swellengrebel who contributes an introduction of 76 pages, the only part of the book newly written, perhaps played a major part in coordinating the translation and adaptation of the other essays. The book will greatly benefit anthropologists, historians and students of religion who cannot read Dutch. Discussions of modern trends do not occupy much space in the volume, but the 'introduction' contains an analysis of the position of Balinese traditional values and attitudes in relation to the ideas favoured by the Muslim majority within the state of Indonesia. Conscious of their weakness *vis-a-vis* Islam the adherents of traditional Balinese religion now tend to emphasize their historical links with Hinduism and look upon India as an example for the successful combination of Hindu religion and philosophy with a thoroughly modern and progressive outlook on economic and political problems.

Coedes, George: *Angkor: an Introduction* (ranslated and edited by Emily Floyd Gardiner, viii, 116 pp. Front, 23 plates, 2 maps. Hong Kong etc. OUP 1963, 16 s. Rev. *BSOAS,* 1964, pp. 485-6):

It is good to have Coedes's views on the nature of the ancient Khmer State and on the monuments of Siemreap made available to readers who do not read French; but it does seem unfortunate that no one has seen fit to add any indication of the considerable amount of work that has been done since the eight lectures were

delivered in the Museé Louis Finot in Hanoi and were published 20 years ago. The translation is adequate but not without minor irritants.

Dewey, Alice G.: *Peasant Marketing in Java*: (pp. xxi + 238. New York: Free Press of Glencoe, 1962 $ 6.00 Rev. *JAOS* 84 (1) (Jan.-Mar., 1964), pp. 95-6):

Dewey's study is largely descriptive centering on 'New Market in Modjokuto where most of her time was spent. Her descriptions of trade practices, finance and other topics provide many new insights and corroborate some findings from other areas.

Echols, John M. and Shadily, Hassan: *An Indonesian English Dictionary*. (xvi, 384 pp. Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1961 in G. B. Oxford Univ. Press 60 s. Rev. *BSOAS* xxv (2) 1962, pp. 422-3):

Dictionary of a language born as recently as 1928. The standard Riau Malay of 1928 or threreabouts has been adequately described in Malay dictionaries, and could have been made the starting point for many of the entries in the new dictionary. The method would require a careful study of the pioneer literature of the last thirty years and sifting of information drawn from different parts of Indonesia. It is disappointing that this dictionary prepared under university auspices has ignored this approach. So many mistakes in definition and arrangement that the confidence of the user in the dictionary as a whole is shaken.

Pigeau, Theodore G. Th. *Java in The Fourteenth Century*: A study in cultural history. The Nagara-kertagama by *rakawi* Prapanca of Majapahit, A.D. 1365. Third Edition, revised and enlarged by some contemporaneous texts, with notes, translations, commentaries and a glossary. Illustrated by Th. P. Galestin, volumes: I. Javanese texts in transcription, pp. xvi, 125; II. Notes on the texts and the translations, pp. 16, 153; III. Translations, pp. xiii, 177; IV. Commentaries and Recapitulation, pp. xi, 552; V. Glossary, General Index, pp. viii, 451. Martinus Nijhoff, The Hague. 1960-63. Rev. *JRAS*. Pts. 3 & 4, 1964, (Oct.), pp. 143-146) by J. G. de Casparis:

No Javanese, and very few other, texts have ever been so deeply studied. The author is one of the foremost scholars in the Javanese field and combines a thorough knowledge of old and modern Javanese with an unchallenged acquaintance with many aspects of Javanese life and institutions. The translations in Vol. III are very literal. The fourth volume of this work, con-

taining continuous commentaries on the texts, is a real mine of knowledge. Its last part (pp. 467-552) is a recapitulation of the materials on Javanese culture in the fourteenth century. It consists of ten chapters dealing with topics such as social order, religion, economy, material culture political order and games. Dr. Pigeau has been right in giving complete lists of references even to the smallest and most frequent words. It is an excellent publication, which will long remain the standard work on ancient Java.

Majumdar, Dr. B. K.: Pre-Majapahit Bali and Indian Influence. *IAC*, Oct. 1964, pp. 112-16):

Arhcaeological data, Religion, Society, Literature, and Art briefly discussed.

MALAYA:

Bastin, John, and Roolvink, R.: (Ed.) *Malayan and Indonesian studies* (Essays presented to Sir Richard Winstedt on his eighty-fifth birthday, O.U.P. 1964. $ 42/- Rev. in *Berita Oxford,* No. 10, Maret 1965, p. 8):

This is an important publication, in the first place for specialists in the fields of Malay Studies and Malayan history. Also the educationalist and educated layman interested in history and literature, will find something to their taste in this well printed and nicely bound book.

S.E. ASIA:

Fischer, C. A.: *South East Asia: A Social Economic and Political Geography,* pp. xix, 831. Methuen, 1964. £ 4.4s. Rev. *JRAS,* 1964 (Oct.), pp. 146-7 (by Victor Purcell):

This huge book is the most comprehensive geography of South East Asia that has so far appeared, and it is the author's *Chef d' oeuvre.* It will be an indispensable work of reference. This is not to say however that the works of E. H. G. Dobby, Robequain or East and Spate are rendered obsolete. One very useful feature is that the book gives references to the extensive bibliography at the end in every section which would aid further reading.

TIBET:

Lalou, M.: *Inventaire des Manuscripts Tibetain de Touenhouang conserves a la Bibliotheque Natinale* (Paul Pelliot Tibetain n. 1283-2216 III Paris, Bibliotheque Nationale, MDCC LXI, pp. xix, 220 Rev. *EW* Sept. Decr. 1963, p. 281 (by G. Tucci):

We must be grateful to the author for her painstaking work which provides us with a list of the rich collection of the Tibetan Mss. brought to Paris by Paul Pelliot. A fine piece of work which classifies an ancient literary material of great interest.

DANCE

GENERAL:

Les Dances Sacrécs. Anthologie (Paris, Sources Orientales'. Au Editions du Seuil, 1963, pp. 496. Rev. *EW*, Sepr.-Decr., 1963, pp. 269-70):

Gathers together various monographs by specialists on the sacred dances in ancient Egypt, in Israel, in Islam, in Central Asia, Cambodia, Bali, Java, China and Japan.

INDIA:

Kunjunni Raja, K.: *Kūṭiyāṭṭam* (Sangeet Natak Akademi, N. Delhi, 1964, pp. 36. Price Rs. 2/- Rev. *Adyar Library Bulletin*, May 1964, p. 159):

A general account of the Kūṭiyāṭṭam, the traditional staging of classical Sanskrit dramas by the hereditary actors of Kerala, an art form which was the precursor of the well known Kathakali.

INDONESIA:

Amra: *Seni Dontji dipulau Makian* (*The art of Dontji on the island of Makian*) (Bahs. Bud. 9 (5-6), 1961: 238-46):

Dontji is a combination of singing and dancing. Musical instruments are an accordeon, a violin and drums. Verses are sung on the subjects of love, separation and so on. The dancers are men and women in equal even numbers. The history of the literature of Makian is divided into 3 periods. In the second period the violin was used for the first time. This was spread over Makian and the islands of Moti, Kajoa, Moari, Halmahera. New tunes and subjects were introduced.

FOLKLORE

INDONESIA:

H. G. Tarigan: *Beberapa folklore dari Simalungun* (*Some folklores from Simalungun*) (Bahs. Bud. 9 (3-4), 1961: 134-96):

This small collection contains thirteen stories written in the vernacular language of Simalungun (Batak) and translated into

Indonesian. The stories handed down verbally for generations express the folk wisdom, experience and moral sense of the Simalungun Batak.

HANDICRAFTS

INDIA:

Chattopadhyaya, Kamaladevi: *Indian Handicrafts* (art plates, pp. 200, Allied Publishers (P) Ltd., New Delhi, Rs. 20/-):

This book is a brief but authentic exposition of the traditional handicrafts of India. The author traces the origin of the handicrafts, examining their evolution through the ages and provides a graphic picture of the art and technique of the Indian handicrafts. The book, which has been sponsored by Indian Council for Cultural Relations, contains forty-eight select illustrations including ten in colour and printed on art paper.

HISTORY

INDIA:

Misra, B. B.: *The Indian middle classes; their growth in modern times.* (IX, 438 pp. London, etc. Oxford University Press for the Royal Institute of International Affairs, 1961, 45 s. Rev. *BSOAS*, XXV (2), 1962, pp. 385-6 (by Hugh Tinker):

An attempt to get out of the groove of political history. An earlier work of the author is a careful but conventional account of *The Central administration of the East India Company,* 1773-1834 (Manchester University Press 1959). His present theme is 'virtually unexplored' and this is 'an introductory survey'. He might have deferred publication until he could offer the considered judgments of a life's work; but he has come forward with draft conclusions framed after a relatively brief investigation. It was not the easiest course to follow. His supreme virtue is that he is invariably honest with himself and his readers. His analysis emerges from the evidence as he sees it. He devotes fully half his book to considering the origins of the middle class, before 1857, and a bare ten pages to the twentieth century and he equates the concept of middle class with 'anglicised, professional, literary upper middle class'; but the most significant recent trends in India are the emergence of middle class groups, which are largely outside the accepted definition, into roles of power and influence. He leaves many other questions untouched: why did not the

Tagores, like the Parsis of Bombay, develop into industrialists, but lapsed into traditional landed and literary occupations? How did the Marwaris turn from timid 'banyas' to controllers of the most powerful industrial cartels in modern India? No use is made of Indian material. No consideration of the intellectual aspect of middle class evolution.

Sharma, Prof. Shri Ram: *Religious Policy of the Mughal Emperors,* (pp. 206, Asia Publishing House, London, 1962, 30 s. Rev. *JRAS,* 1964, pp. 68-9):

First published in 1940 and long out of print. The text in the present edition has been rearranged, revised and expanded, though the conclusions, on the whole sympathetic, remain unchanged. Some new material, particularly ragarding the imposition of *Jiziya* by Aurangzeb, has also been incorporated by Prof. Sharma, but much of the contemporary hagiological literature, which throws significant light on the subject, seems to have again escaped his notice.

Spear, Perceval: *India: A Modern History* (pp. x + 491 + xix. The Univ. of Michigan Press, 1961, $10. Rev. *JRAS,* 69-70):

The author devotes the first 180 pages to describing the main ideas, institutions and events of Ancient and Medieval India with a view to trace their influences in the present day. Dr. Spear has managed to present a systematic account of his main theme by being selective and perceptive in the treatment of ideas and events. A very readable general history of modern India.

Thapar, Romilla: *Aśoka and the Decline of the Mauryas* (xi, 283, pp. front, 5 plates, map. London Oxford University Press, 1961. 45 s. Rev. *BSOAS,* XXV (2), 1962, pp. 382-4 (by J. G. de Casparis):

Most thorough study on the great emperor that has hitherto appeared. The treatment is scholarly and free from cheap generalizations. She deals with controversial topics in an unbiased manner. She has given her subject much thought and expresses her ideas adequately. Her chief weakness lies in insufficient knowledge of the Buddhist background. Most of the important information is contained in the three largest chapters on society and economic activity; internal administration, and the policy of Dhamma, which are by far the best. The shorter chapters are less satisfactory. Two of the Appendixes are very useful, viz., III on the geographical locations of the edicts, and V containing translation of the edicts mainly based on Bloch; the translation is sufficiently precise, and

in addition readable Dr. Thapar has chosen an extremely difficult subject for her first major work and has succeeded in making an important contribution to the study of one of the greatest figures of the history of India and of the world.

Sundaram, K. 'The Balanja Merchant Community of Mediaeval Andhra, A.D. 1300-1600' — *JOR*, xxx, 1963, pp. 13-27):

A study mainly based on inscriptions: Concludes: 'Thus from the provenance of the records of the Balanja merchants, we can conclude that the relative briskness of trade of this community shifted from region to region in consonance with the changing political complexion of the country.'

S. E. ASIA:

Pearn, B. R.: *An Introduction to the History of South East Asia* (Longmans of Malaya, 1963, Kuala Lumpur, pp. x and 222. Maps and illustrations):

This fine book by a former Professor of History in the University of Rangoon gives only 65 pages to the early period of Indian contacts and lays more stress on the modern period and European influences. Simply written and well illustrated.

TIBET:

Bacot, Jacques: *Introduction a l'historie du Tibet* (Societe Asiatique, Paris, 1962, pp. xxiv, 138, Rev. in *EW*, Sept-Dec. 1963, p. 281 (by G. Tucci.):

A good attempt by a veteran of Tibetan studies at a resumé of Tibetan history from legendary times down to our own days. Some very interesting chapters, and appendices dealing with various subjects. A short bibliography at end.

Richardson, H. H. *Tibet and Its History.* (London, Oxford Univ. Press, 1962, pp. viii, 308, Rev. *EW.*, Sept.-Dec. 1963, pp. 281, 2 (by Tucci):

This book is by one of the foremost living authorities on Tibet, the right man to write a history of Tibet. The best exposition of the political history of Tibet in the last century. We wish the author had conveniently enlarged the chapters dedicated to ancient and mediaeval history as he has a first hand knowledge of old and mediaeval documents.

LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE

GENERAL:

Benveniste, Emile: *Hittite et Indo-European. Etudes Comparatives.* (Bibliotheque Archiologique et Historique de l'Institut Francais d' Archeologie d' Istanbul: 5, pp. 140, Paris, 1962. Libraire Adrien-Maisonneuve. Rev. *JRAS,* 1964 (Oct.), pp. 130-33):

New analyses of points of phonology, morphology and vocabulary, not only a rich contribution in themselves but supply a new stimulus for further exploration by fellow Indo-Europeanists. The examples chosen for fuller discussion here will not merely indicate the rich offering of new insights the book brings. It will also serve as a much needed demonstration of sound etymological method and an encouragement to the author's fellow Indo-Europeanists to desist from mere repetition.

INDIA:

Bhattachary, Deben (Tr): *Love Songs of Vidyāpati* (ed. with Intr. and notes and comments by W. G. Archer, London, George Allen & Unwin, 1962. pp. 148, Rev. *EW,* Sepr-Decr. 1963, pp. 255-6 (by G. Tucci):

A fine translation of one of the most interesting documents of Maithili literature which greatly influenced the Bhakti literature of Bengal from Candidās to Caitanya and which took its inspiration from Jayadeva. Translation renders very well the flavour of the poetry and Archer's introduction is very helpful. It includes a biographical sketch of Vidyāpati.

Chatterjee, Suniti Kumar: *Languages and Literatures of Modern India* (with a foreword by Dr. C. P. Ramaswamy Aiyar, Calcutta, Bengal Publishers P. Ltd., 1963, pp. xxviii, 380 pp. xxxi, Rev. *EW,* Sepr-Decr. 1963, p. 255 (by Tucci):

Very good introduction to the subject; gives an idea of its vastness, fills a gap and provides non-specialists with a well written summary of the literary activities of modern India in the most prominent languages. A detailed bibliography on the author's and an Index are desiderata.

De, Dr. Susil Kumar (ed.): *Vakroktijīvita of Kuntaka* (Calcutta. Firma K. L. Mukhopadhyaya, 1961, pp. lxiii, 260, Rev. *EW,* Sepr-Decr. 1963, pp. 259-61):

Introduction is a brilliant dissertation on important topics like Kuntaka's theory of poetry, his doctrine of poetic figure, etc. A great contribution to the field of literature of Sanskrit poetics.

Howell, Sir Eric and Caroe, Sir Olaf (translators): *The Poems of Khushal Khan Khattak*: (Introduction by Maulana Abdul Qadin. pp. xiv + 98. Oxford University Press, 1963. 15 s. Rev. *JRAS*, 1964 (Oct.) pp. 152-3):

A scholarly study, intimate and clearly inspired by a sense of great attachment to the country and affection for the people of the poet's homeland. Twenty-six Pashto poems of the 17th century. The Introduction by the Director of Pashto Academy Peshawar contains two well written chapters on 'The setting in History' and 'The poet and his book'. The authors 'seek to do for Khushal what Fitzerald did for Omar Khayyam'. Delightful get up; evident marks of scholarship and research.

Mu'id Khan, M. A.: *The Arabian Poets of Golconda*. (Univ. of Bombay, pp. 163, 1963. Rs. 7-50. Rev. *JRAS*, 1964 (Oct.), pp. 137-8 (by A. S. Tritton):

Most of the poets mentioned were Arabs, a few were Persians or Indians. Apart from a short survey of earlier contacts between Arabia and India the greater part of the book is devoted to two men, father and son, Sayyid Ahmad b. Ma'sun and Sayid Ali b. Masum, so named after his grand-father, their friends and pensioners. The English is poor. The author has collected much curious information about a little known field; the book is well equipped with indices.

Sharma, Aryendra and Raghavacharya, E. V. Vira. *Gems from Sanskrit Literature*. (Sanskrit Academy, Sanskrit Series no. 5, Popular series no. 2, Hyderabad, Osmania Univ., 1959, pp. 263, Rev. *EW*, Sepr-Decr. 1963, p. 255 (G. Tucci):

An anthology of Subhāsitas with sources given; it might have been useful to combine them under various items.

Vogel, J.Ph.: *The Goose in Indian Literature and Art*. (Memoirs of the Kern Institute, Vol. II, Leiden, Brill, 1962, pp. 74, plates, xii, Rev. *EW*, Sepr-Decr. 1963, p. 257 (by G. Tucci):

Dr. Vogel rightly contends that the hamsa is not the swan but the goose, and as in his book on Nāgas, he collects first a large mass of information from literary sources, and dedicates the second part to art. Though the book was left incomplete by the author, it is of much value.

INDONESIA:

Teeuw, A: *A critical survey of studies on Malay and Bahasa Indonesia*, (by) A. Teeuw with the assistance of H. W. Emanuels (Koninklijk Instituut vur Taal-, Land-, en Volkenkunde. Bibliographical series: 5), IV, 176 pp. s-Gravenhage: Martinus Nijhoff, 1961. Guilders 10. Rev. *BSOAS*, XXV (2), 1962, pp. 402-3):

The contents page indicates the rich harvest, both bibliographical and critical, which Professor Teeuw offers, and also suggests the wide knowledge and modest but rigorous discrimination he brings to his task for our guidance. This work not only presents a picture of the *status quo*, but provides an extremely stimulating challenge as to where to go next. The absence of a separate index of authors' names makes the use of the book difficult. The translation by Miss E. M. Hooykaas is clear.

Hooykaas, Dr. C.: 'Old Javanese Ramayana', lecture at 17th Foundation Day of the K.S.R. Institute, Madras, *JOR*, xxx, 1963, pp. 1-12:

The lecture seems to establish: OJR's dependence on the Bhaṭṭikāvya, its having been composed as an exemplary *Kakavin* according to Indian principles, and its containing half a dozen of episodes in the shape of well rounded poems.

MUSIC

INDIA:

Qanungo, S. N.: 'Baiju Bawra' (*IAC*, 1964 (Oct.), pp. 130-33):

A musician contemporary with Tansen and Akbar used his music to stop a general massacre ordered by Humayun after his capture of Mandu. Disciple of Shaikh Adham and Swami Haridas.

PHILOSOPHY

GENERAL:

Chavannes, Ed.: *Cinq Cents Contes et apologues extraits du Tripitaka Chinois* (Paris, Adian Maisaneuve, 1962. Tomas I-IV; pp. xx, 428, 449, 395, II, 343, Rev. *EW*, Sepr.-Decr. 1963, pp. 273-4 (by G. Tucci):

Reprint of a well known work completely out of print by the famous French Sinologue. It makes accessible this irreplaceable vade mecum of every student of Buddhology.

Moore, Charles, A. (ed): *Philosophy and Culture. East and West* (Honolulu, Univ. of Hawaii Press, 1962, pp. xii, 832. Rev. *EW*, Sepr.-Decr. 1963, pp. 270-71):

Proceedings volume of the Third East West Philosophers' conference held at the Univ. of Hawaii during the summer of 1959. It now seems that technical civilization, produced by thought, may be opposed to thought. The ancient spirituality must renew itself, give once again that through which it has always been new and creative. This seems to us the basic meaning of what has been thought by the authors collected in this volume.

INDIA:

Aiyar, K. Narayanaswamy: *The Thirty-two Vidyās.* (Intrn. by Dr. V. Raghavan, Madras, Adyar Library and Research Society, 1962, pp. xvi, 147. Rev. *EW*, Sepr.-Decr. 1963, p. 257 (by G. Tucci):

Reedition of book issued in 1916 dealing with the vidyās and upāsanas leading to Brahma knowledge. Illuminating treatment of the subject.

Bhattacharya, Gopikamohan: *Studies in Nyāyavaiśeṣika Theism.* (Calcutta, Sanskrit College Research Series, n. xiv, Calcutta Sanskrit College, 1961, pp. xxiv, 170, Rev. *EW*, Sepr.-Decr. 1963, pp. 274-5 (by G. Tucci):

It is evident that the author is well conversant with his subject, the technicalities of Indian speculation, and with philosophical argument in general.

Dasgupta, S. B.: *Introduction to Tantric Buddhism* (Calcutta, Univ. of Calcutta, 1958, pp. x, 211, Rev. *EW*, Sepr.-Decr. 1963, p. 275 (by G. Tucci):

Second edition of a book which has gained good and deserving success. The material which the author has collected is very extensive, and his analysis subtle. It is a good start for further studies and conclusions.

Gnoli, Raniero (ed.): *The Pramānavārttikam of Dharmakīrti* (Serie Orientale Roma, xxiii, pp. xi + 213. Instituto Italiano per il Medio ed Estremo Oriente, 1960. Price L. 5,000. Rev. *JAOS*, 84(1), Jan.-March, 1964), pp. 91-2, by J. F. Staal:

One of the most important works of Indian thought. A very reliable text based on all mss. and a complete critical apparatus. A thorough exposition of Buddhist nominalism. Much material that will undoubtedly lead to future work, historical as well as philosophical and logical.

Lazarus F. K.: *Ramanuja and Bownes* (*Chetana*, Bombay, Rs. 25/-, Rev. *Hindustan Times*, dt. 31-8-64):

At first sight the comparison between Rāmānuja and Bownes, which Prof. Lazarus undertakes, might look highly far-fetched. Rāmānuja was one of the greatest philosophic thinkers of India and was the founder of the "qualified non-dualistic" school. Bownes, by comparison, does not occupy a similar position in American philosophy. But as one studies Prof. Lazarus' volume, one is struck how close the two really were in their concept of God as personal idealism. Rāmānuja has more adherents today than Śankara, for his theistic faith serves a necessary psychological need of the individual. Bownes too, in a different context and in a different background, emphasized the need for concrete realities as opposed to the abstract ones. The book makes a detailed study of their backgrounds and their contexts.

Narasimhaswamy, B. V. *Self-Realisation, Life and Teachings of Sri Ramana Maharshi.* (Tiruvannamalai, T. N. Venkataraman, 1953, pp. 272, Rev. *E.W.*, Sept.-Decr. 1963, p. 273):

Interesting biographical data, talks with representative personalities of spiritual movements, significant episodes, etc., useful contribution to the understanding of the inner and outer landscape in which the master lived and a relayer of little known thoughts and aphorisms of Maharshi.

Sarma, K. V. (ed.): *Saṅkarṣa Kāṇḍa Sūtras of Jaimini* (Hoṣhiarpur, V.V.R. Institute, 1963, pp. xxiii; 29 Rev. *E.W.* Sepr. Decr. 1963, p. 277), (by G. Tucci):

The editor supports the tradition that Jaimini wrote the Dvādaśalakṣaṇī, the four Samkarṣakāṇḍa, plus the four remaining chapters—the sixteen first chapters (dvādaśalakṣaṇī and Saṅkarṣakāṇḍa) being the pūrvamīmāmsā, and the last four the uttaramīmāmsā or Vedānta. The arguments adduced make this view highly probable.

'Who': *Mahāyoga, or the Upanishadic Lore* (Tiruvannamalai. Sri Ramanasram, 1961, pp. 235, Rev. *E.W.* Sepr.-Decr., 1963, pp. 272-3):

The teaching of Bhagavān Śrī Ramaṇa; almost a transcription and synthesis of all ancient yoga in a single discipline of the soul, valid above all for the man of our time. The volume contains also some sentences and thoughts of the 'Sage of Aruṇachala' on the essential problems of mysticism.

RELIGION

GENERAL:

James, E. O.: *The Worship of the Sky God.* A comparative study in Semitic and Indo-European Religion, (pp. vi + 175. Univ. of London, 1963, 25 s. Rev. *JRAS,* 1964, p. 80, H. G. Quaritch, Wales):

The appearance of this series of seven Jordan Lectures is timely when the attributes of the Christian deity are undergoing reappraisal at the hands of certain progressive theologians. The author adequately examines the various crises that monotheism has had to face in the Sky God's relations with the Earth-Deity and to polytheism generally and in its tendency sometimes to lapse into otioseness, while in the higher religions developing on lines of sovereignty and transcendence.

Padwick, Constance, E.: *Muslim Devotions: A study of prayer manuals in common use.* (XXIX, pp. 313, London; SPCK., 1961. 35 s. Rev. *BSOAS,* XXV (2), 1962, pp. 351-3, by Wilfred Cantwell Smith):

Rich and brilliant study due to scholarship of new and exciting kind in new aspects of comparative religion: that of ascertaining what is the inner faith of those for whom the outer tradition has been meaningful. A model of craftsmanship as well as of spiritual insight, without which, in addition, the work would have failed. The reader's capacity to perceive what the Muslim means, and what Miss Padwick senses, will depend in a part no doubt on his own religious experience and spiritual sensibility. There emerges also from this work a contrary sense, of how out-dated this traditional form must be for the typical modernized ('Westernized') Muslim who has largely lost contact with much of the personal *engagement* of his faith with transcendence.

INDIA:

Lamotte, Etienne: *Histoire du boudhisme indieu des origins a' l'ere Saka* (Universite de Louvain, Institut Orientaliste, Bibliotheque *Museon,* Vol. 43, xvi, pp. 802, front, 27 plates, 5 maps. Lowarain; Publications Universitaises (et) Institut Orientaliste, 1958, Bel. fr. 1000. Rev. *BSOAS,* XXV (2), 1962, pp. 378-80 by J. Brough):

Only at rare intervals can we have the pleasure of welcoming a book of such outstanding importance. This book will be indispensable for all students of early Buddhism. Makes full use

of Tibetan and Chinese sources in addition to Pali and Sanskrit, and takes due account of the voluminous modern literature on the subject and forms in effect a report on the progress of scholarship in this field. More a general history of early India than of Buddhism. Brough is highly critical of the evidence at hand for the period, i.e., up to A.D. 100. The aim of the final chapter is to show how, in turning in the direction of Mahāyāna, Buddhism was transformed from a philosophical mystical doctrine into a genuine religion; but it is hard to believe that Buddhism was fundamentally anything other than a religion from its earliest days. We are grateful for the wealth of material Lamotte has given us and look forward to the publication of the next volume. A comparison between Jainism and Buddhism still remains a task for the future.

Nabi, Mohammad Noor: *Development of Muslim Religious Thought in India*, from A.D. 1200 to A.D. 1450, (pp. xiii + 210, illustrations 6, Muslim Univ., Aligarh (India), 1962. Rev. *JRAS*, 1964, pp. 65-6):

Analyses salient features of the teachings of some eminent Muslim saints. Two parts divided at 1325. The book is too narrowly based to justify its title.

Nilakanta Sastri, K. A.: *Development of Religion in South India* (Orient Longmans Ltd., Madras, Rs. 8/- Rev. *Deccan Herald* dt. 30-8-65):

The book under review fulfils all the requirements of historical research and is a valuable addition to the literature on this well worn subject. The book ends with a rapid survey of religious movements after 1000 A.D., bringing the survey to modern times. The reader will find in this book a treasure-house of valuable information, accurate, detailed, authoritative and of absorbing interest, to the student of philosophy, history and religion equally.

Nizami, Khaliq Ahmad: *Khair-u'l-majalis (conversations of Shaikh Nasir-u'd-din Chiragh of Delhi (ob. 1356) compiled by Hamid Qalandar)*: (Department of History, Muslim University, Aligarh, Studies in Indo-Muslim Mysticesion, 1. xi, 67, 307, (21) pp. Aligarh, 1961. Rev. *BSOAS*, XXV(2), 1962 (pp. 371-2):

This able edition of the dicta of the last great mystic of Delhi is an outstanding contribution to the study of mystical trends in medieval Muslim India. The extensive English introduction of the edition bears the stamp of the Urdu scholarly technique and

method of Deoband and Nadvat-al-'ulama'. It is interesting and informative in may ways, though it provokes dissent on some points.

INDONESIA:

Scharer, Hans (author), Needham, Rodney (Translator): *Ngaju Religion* (The conception of God among south Borneo people, with a preface by P. E. De Josselyn de Jong, pp. xv + 229, 34 Illustrations The Hague 1963, 21 guilders. Rev. *JRAS.*, 1964, pp. 601-1 (H. G. Quaritch Wales):

While the observation and recording of the author are reliable and beyond question, his interpretation should be regarded as open for further consideration. Cf. 'The chronological aspect of Indonesian Religion *JRAS*, 1959, pp. 100-139 by the reviewer—which amounted to a lengthy review of the original edition (German) of this book. 'Now that this adequate translation has made Scharer's truly remarkable work more readily accessible it is to be hoped that it will attract the wider attention it certainly deserves'.

SOCIOLOGY

GENERAL:

Derrett, J. D. M.: *Introduction to Modern Hindu Law*: (xcv and 653 pp., Oxford Univ. Press (Indian Branch), Bombay, 1963. Rev. *JRAS.*, 1964 (Oct.) p. 153).

Apart from dealing with local anomalies within India this book deals with Hindu Law in East Africa where it should be welcomed. Macaulay's method of illustration has often been effectively used.

Lafont, Pierre Bernard: (1) *To'lo i. Djual=Coutumier de la Tribu Jarai* (Paris, EFEO. Publication, Vol. II, 1963, pp. 323); (2) *Prieres Jarai* (Paris, EFEO. Collection de Textes et Documents Sur l' Indochine, Vol. XIII, 1963; pp. xxxvii, 458. Rev. *E.W.* Sepr.-Decr., 1963, pp. 277-80):

A most valid contribution to the preparation of plans for the civil development of backward areas now being undertaken by various Asiatic nations with populations still on tribal level. These two works of Lafont are of essential importance for understanding the patrimony of tradition, thought and belief which regulates the life of the Jarai peoples—traditions exclusively oral collected and written down for the first time. Both volumes have valuable introductions on the aim and methods of the research, and plan and contents of the work.

Qadri, Anwar Ahmad: *Islamic Jurisprudence in the modern* world (a reflection upon comparative study of law), pp. xi, 366, Bombay; N. M. Tripathi (P) Ltd., 1963, Rs. 25; 36 s. Rev. *BSOAS*, 1964, pp. 442-3:

Mr. Qadri set himself the ambitious task of attempting to cover in his book the whole field of Islamic law, legal theory, and substantive doctrine, both past and present. The result is a rehash of existing knowledge and literature on the subject, which is never lucid and at times is practically unintelligible.

INDIA:

Aziz, K. K.: *Britain and Muslim India* (a study of British public opinion vis-a-vis the development of Muslim nationalism in India, 1857-1947), IX, 278, pp. London, Heinemaun, 1963, 42 s. (Rev. *BSOAS,* 1964, pp. 464-5, Hugh Tinker):

Dr. Aziz has conceived the bold plan of analysing the role of British public opinion throughout the growth of the Muslim separatist movement, from the Mutiny to the Transfer of Power. Despite the polished style and sophisticaed analysis, this admirable effort does not, in the end, greatly enlarge our understanding in any vital respect. 'British opinion was most active, lively and vocal on the making of the 1935 reforms, while the momentous events of 1947 passed comparatively unnoticed'. It seems that the author was rather let down by his subject.

Drekmeier, Charles: *Kingship and Community in Early India* (pp. xiv + 369; Stanford: Stanford univ. press, 1962. $7.50 Rev. *JAOS*, 84 (1) (Jan..-March (1964), pp. 89-90 by Ainslic T. Embree:

While kingship is the main concern of the author, almost all aspects of the political life of ancient India are touched upon. In his examination of political values and their symbolization he writes with a sophisticated understanding of the nature of political power that has been lacking in previous studies of Indian political thought. More weight is given to economic factors than is usual in books on Indian political thought.

Hira Lal Singh: *Problems and Policies of the British in India* (1885 to 1898, Asia Historical Series No. 1, xii, 281, pp. London Asia Publishing House, 1963, 45 s. Rev. *BSOAS*, 1964, pp. 465-6 by Hugh Tinker):

Considers introduction of Indian element into the higher civil services, the expansion of the legislative councils, and the role of the Indian army in maintaining local security and in

imperial defence. The growth of the Congress is also examined. It cannot be said that this book contributes anything fundamentally new to our understanding of these matters. It is altogether a story of the blind leading the blind, perhaps one legitimate definition of politics.

Kannan, (Dr.) C. T.: *Intercaste and Inter-community Marriages in India,* Allied Publishers (P) Ltd., 1964, (pp. 248, Rs. 16/-):

It is a study of an altogether unexplored aspect of family life—the first of its kind to be ever undertaken. The author has analysed and evaluated patiently and objectively his case studies and has made a real significant contribution to the exceedingly difficult field of research in social dynamics. His findings will elicit comment and evoke interest among social research workers everywhere.

Kishan Ram, Dy. Director, Community Development Programme, Lucknow: *Grass Roots of the Community Development Programme in India,* (pp. 300, Allied Publishers (P) Ltd., New Delhi, Rs. 16/-):

No account of Community Development Programme can be complete unless it succeeds in showing how best defects and shortcomings can be set right. An earnest effort has been made in this book to deal with the problems faced in Community Development Programme with simple measures to remedy the situation. The author covers the four important factors viz. The People, The Programme, the Attitude and Outlook of the official machinery towards extension programmes and problems of the People, and the Extension Worker.

Kothari, Rajni (ed.) Director, The Centre for the Study of Developing Societies, *Caste and Politics in India* (pp. 300, Allied Publishers (P.) Ltd., New Delhi, Rs. 20/-):

The book consists of a series of case studies conducted around a common framework of inquiry but with significant variations in the themes selected and the situation studied. The studies will focus attention on the secular and inter-group relations aspect of caste and examine the extent to which it provides a basis for political mobilization. The studies will thus bring out the extent to which the domain of politics has been expanding so as to take into confidence the traditional sector of society. At the same time, they will also show the extent to which other networks of influence and power enter into the picture and modify relation-

ships and allegiances in the political system as well as in the caste system.

Kulkarni, V. B. *British Dominion in India and after* (Bhāratīya Vidyā Bhavan, 1964, pp. xii and 452, Rs. 20/-):

'Seeks to make a dispassionate survey of British rule in India and to assess the country's achievements since independence'. The author is neither anti-British nor blind to the shortcomings and mistakes of even our most eminent leaders like Gandhi and Nehru. 'Written as it is in a lucid and engaging style, the book. I am sure, will be useful both to the experts and the students and make interesting reading for the general readers'—K. M. Munshi in his foreword.

Luthera, Ved Prakash: *The Concept of the Secular State in India* (OUP, xv, 187, 2 appendixes, bibliography, Index, Rs. 12.50):

The author's view is that India is not a secular state but 'Jurisdictionalist' in that of necessity it controls and regulates the affairs of all religions though it gives precedence to none. He seeks to establish this view considering in detail the articles of the Indian constitution dealing with individual and corporate religious freedom, non-discrimination, social reform legislation and cow protection—and the way that they have been interpreted by the Supreme Court and various State High Courts, U.S.A. he thinks, is the only real secular state so far known.

Mathur, K. S. *Caste and Ritual in a Malwa village*: (Asia Publ. House, 1964; pp. 215, price Rs. 26.00 Rev. *IAC.*, 1964 (Oct.) pp. 155-7):

The village studied is Potlod where the author lived for some time. Prof. S. C. Dude says in his foreword: 'Objective studies, such as the one presented by Dr. K. S. Mathur here contribute greatly towards a realistic approach to the social situation'.

Mukerji, Prof. Nirod: *Standing at the Cross-Roads* (An Analytical Approach to the Basic Problems of Psychosocial Integration, pp. 212, Allied Publishers (P.) Ltd., New Delhi, Rs. 12/-):

It would be a truism to say that it is on the correct analysis of a problem that an appropriate solution can be suggested. In answer to the problems of national integration in India there have now appeared hundreds of articles and also quite a few books. The author, however, is of the view that the analyses undertaken so far have mostly grown out of the acceptance of certain

ideas set in conventional grooves; he has therefore made an attempt to look into the basic issues in a non-conformist manner. Prof. Mukerji, being primarily a student of science, is not bound by the traditional outlook or approach and has therefore examined the problems against materials patiently culled from history and anthropology, sociology and psychology arriving at conclusions startlingly different from the conformed pattern.

Mukerjee, Dr. Radhakamal: *The Sickness of Civilization* (pp. 144, Allied Publishers (P.) Ltd., New Delhi, Rs. 12.50):

This volume offers a strikingly original and comprehensive psychological and philosophical diagnosis of the great spiritual sickness of modern civilization. The author examines and interprets not only modern man's mental illness and deviances arising out of the frustration of his deepest physiological and instinctual cravings but also his "social illnesses" and "disvalues" that do not obtain proper diagnosis and handling in social science. This diagnosis of the great spiritual sickness could prove of immense value to social workers, professional sociologists and psychologists.

Saksena, Prof. R. N. (ed.) Director, Institute of Social Sciences, Agra. *Readings in Indian Sociology*: (pp. 350, Allied Publishers (P.) Ltd., New Delhi, Rs. 18/-):

Sociology is a new discipline to be introduced in the country, but it has gained immediate recognition and many valuable contributions have been made by Indian sociologists in the application of sociological knowledge to Indian social problems as well as in the re-interpretation of the fundamentals as applicable to and deducible from Indian social thought. In this book Section I deals with the 'Nature and Scope of Sociology in India'; Section II with 'Indian Village Community'; Section III with 'Caste System'; Section IV with 'Joint Family and Social Change'; Section V with 'Cultural Synthesis' and Section VI with 'Technology and Social Change'. The readings in this volume consist of selections from the contributions made by Indian sociologists, who have specialized in the field concerned.

Saksena, Prof. R. N., Director, Institute of Social Sciences, Agra. *Source Book in Indian Sociology* (2 vols. pp. 400, Allied Publishers (P.) Ltd., Rs. 25/-):

In the West during the last forty or fifty years, in fact since sociology gained recognition as a science of society, it has taken long strides in emerging as a body of systematic social theory in which theory that had formerly been speculative in character, has

become entirely empirical. But Indian sociologists have inherited a different social philosophy, which is not only ancient but even goes far beyond the known history of many civilizations. It is also unique in considering relation of man not simply as relation to other human beings but to all life. Spiritual values in India are not so much a mystic religion as a mode of life. In this connection it may also be mentioned that while other civilizations have perished, the Indian civilization, which is contemporary with those of Egypt and Babylon, is still functioning. It is in this context that modern sociological thought of India has to be understood; for the continuums in Indian social thought only can provide the clue to the dynamics of Indian civilization.

Saletore, B. A.: *Indian Political Thought and Institutions* (pp. xiv, 695. Asia Publishing House, Bombay, 1963, Rs. 30/- Rev. *JRAS,* 1964 (Oct.), pp. 149-50):

'The main value of the book is that it challenges some previously held views about ancient Indian polity to the extent that one has to reconsider these questions again. This is a useful service but by and large there are too many pages for what the book has to offer'.

Smith, Donald E.: *India as a Secular State* (OUP, 1963, pp. 538, Rs. 30/- 80 s. in UK only Rev. *BSOAS,* 1964 pp. 467-8, H. Tinker):

Despite her long religious tradition, India is emerging as a secular state. The transition has not been easy and is far from complete yet. The author explores the origin of this concept of secularization as it is found both in Indian culture and in the West. The many aspects of India's attempt to secularize her government are examined and their implications are considered in this comprehensive study; and an appraisal made of the chances of success of the secular state in India. The significance of India's secular form of government extends beyond her borders; due to her position as the largest and most populous non-communist country in Asia, the success or failure of the secular state in India cannot fail to influence the attitudes of her neighbours.

Prof. Smith tends to portray his subject in terms of the minorities and how they are affected by the majority; individual members of a minority have to decide whether to accept the majority outlook or accept the role of an outsider; Prof. Smith does not entirely acknowledge this difficulty, which no secular state, whatever its laws, can ever entirely surmount.

Vidyarthi, L.P.: *The Sacred Complex in Hindu Gaya* (xxiv, 232, pp. front 4 plates, London. Asia Publishing House, 1961, 30 s. Rev. *BSOAS.*, XXV (2), 1962, pp. 384-5 (by F. R. Allchin):

Study of the vicissitudes of the Gayāwāl community, officiating priests for some 2000 years in the Gāyā Kṣetra or pilgrimage field. The author brings to the study his own observations as well as whatever historical material is available. British rule and improved transport contributed in the last century to an unprecedented increase in the pilgrim trade and the Gayāwāls passed through a period of prosperity. Since 1920 they have entered upon a rapid decline. Factionalism and suspicion follow, and 92% of those who responded to an enquiry believed that Hinduism must gradually die out (p. 63). They have so far shown little sign of adopting themselves to new circumstances. They have even been unable to combine to halt the organization of a new class of middle men who draw off the profits of the pilgrim trade. The main body of the book is that which describes the setting and way of life of the Gayāwāls. Absorbingly interesting study.

Wadia, Prof. A. R. (ed.): Formerly Director, Tata Institute of Social Sciences, Bomay, *History and Philosophy of Social Work in India* (pp. 536, Allied Publishers (P) Ltd.,New Delhi.

In this book thirty three distinguished contributors survey with masterly analysis the different fields of Social Work in India. A very useful work for students of sociology, social work, planners and others interested in the field.

Kabir, Humayun: Secularism in India (*IAC.*, Oct. 1964, pp. 94-6):

'It is the teaching of Indian history that in a country so large and varied as India successful political life can be built only on the willing allegiance of all sections of the people. Identification of the State with any particular religion would tend to violate that principle'.

INDONESIA:

Soediman, Kartohadiprodjo: Bahasa-hukum dan Pantja Sila (Legal terminology and Pantja Sila) (Pub. Roman Catholic Parahyangan Univ. Law School, Bandung, 13 pp):

Legal terminology in Indonesia at present is Western, especially Dutch in origin, and as such reflects Western legal thinking which is based upon the individual as a free and independent be-

ing. Legal thinking according to Pantja Sila, however, is different. In consequence Western legal terminology is inadequate to reflect this different legal thinking. In order to construct a national legal order Indonesians have to change their legal thinking and form a legal terminology which is in accordance with Pantja Sila. At least Western legal terms should be interpreted according to Pantja Sila.

Soediman, Kartohadiprodjo: Negara dalam Pantja Sila (The State according to Pantja Sila) (Pub. Roman Catholic Parahyangan Univ. Law School, Bandung, 23 pp.):

Different from the Western conception of the State which is based upon the free and independent individual, the State-conception according to Pantja Sila is based upon the individual as a being destined by the Almighty to live together with others, equipped with the necessary organs (the first, the second and the third Sila). To fulfil his destiny Man wants to live happily (the first Sila) by way of deliberation (the fourth Sila). In order to live happily the people organizes itself into a state with the People's Consultative Assembly and its representative. However, this People's Consultative Assembly is too large to act efficiently, so a Mandatary has been appointed: the President of the Republic who has his assistants for the various tasks like legislation, administration of justice etc. The Legilature, the Executive and the Judiciary are not opposing one another, but they are all working towards the same objective.

MALAYSIA:

Emerson, Rupert: *Malaysia* (A study in Direct and Indirect Rule, University of Malaya Press, 1964, pp. 536, Index. Papberback. M$ 6/- Rev. *Berita Oxford,* No. 10, Maret, 1965, p. 9.):

Long, yet never boring, detailed yet never dull, it is a stimulating study based on a complete mastery of information. Critical of many aspects of imperialism, it evoked heated and caustic comments from "the heaven-born" MCS when first published. No other work has replaced it, nor have any yet appeared to rival it.

PAKISTAN:

Binder, Leonard: *Religion and Politics in Pakistan*: (xviii, 140 pp. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1961. (English Agents: Cambridge University Press, 60 s). Rev. *BSOAS,* XXV (2), 1962, pp. 370-71):

This is a study of the triangular tension in Pakistan between the traditionalist 'ulama', the modernist politicians and administrators, and the fundamentalist Jama-a-i Islami, from 1948 to 1954, in the efforts of forging a viable, 'Islamic' constitution for the country. In general the book can be described as studying the growth or rather the drift of constitution making in Pakistan, as in 'a laboratory of Islamic principles'. Minor points apart, the book emerges as a whole as one of the most scholarly and painstaking studies of the religio-political complex of Pakistan so far attempted.

S.E. ASIA:

Mills, Lennox, A.: *South East Asia* (pp. 365, Index, Map, Bibl., Oxford University Press, 1964, M$ 16/- Rev. in *Berita Oxford*, No. 10, Maret 1965, p. 8):

This is an important book, deserving close study by those wishing to give to the next generation in South East Asia a better life than their parents. It is a sober assessment of those aspects of the colonial past that are relevant today, and an objective, understated explanation of how development, or a rising standard of living, cannot be attained by most if not all of South East Asia unless a number of attitudes, objectives and anticipations of the people (and particularly the educated) are first changed. Professor Mills here has given a fine appreciation of the economic, social and political characteristics of South East Asia as they exist today, and has then indicated the numerous man-made drawbacks to development.

SECTION IV (A): INSTITUTIONS

(*Note*: Country, Subject and Name of Institutions, arranged in alphabetical order; institutions and their publications in Italics)

GERMANY

CULTURE:

The German South-East Asian Society (Berlin).

Founded in 1961. Objective based on the principles of GDR's policy of peace and peaceful co-existence, respect for sovereignty and equality as well as economic and cultural co-operation of the peoples of the independent states of South East Asia. The Society promotes the propagation of knowledge on the history and the culture of the peoples of South-East Asia and develops relations with circles of public and cultural life in South-East Asian countries. The Indo-German Friendship Society in Nellore, the Indo-German Democratic Republic Friendship Association in New Delhi, the Indo-GDR Cultural Association in Patna, Indo-GDR Cultural Association, Hyderabad have come into existence since the establishment of the German South-East Asian Society. The programmes of these associations are devoted to film shows, festive hours on national days, music evenings, discussions and exchange of views with GDR representatives in India. The Society invites guests from India to visit the GDR and they cover journalists, artists and personalities well known in public life. Likewise the Society sends its own delegations to India. A number of exhibitions are held by the Society in India on social life in the GDR. The GDR organized exhibitions also in Berlin in 1961 on Indian handicrafts. All these activities are calculated to bring the people of the two countries closer and make them understand each other.

INDIA

ARTS AND CRAFTS:

All India Fine Arts and Crafts Society (Rafi Marg, New Delhi-1):

Founded in 1928 and registered in 1938; its activities include the holding of regional and All India arts and crafts exhibitions, organizing lectures and film shows on art, conducting classes and

awarding prizes to best artistes. Owns a library of art books and a gallery of international art. Publishes *Roop-lekha*, a bi-annual journal and a monthly called *Art News;* also catalogues of art Exhibitions from time to time.

College of Arts and Crafts (Calcutta):

The history of the college dates back to middle of the nineteenth century. In 1854 a meeting attended by Sir Cecil Beadon, Raja Pratapachandra, Kishori Charan Mitra and others was held at the house of Hodson Pratt to finalize the arrangement leading to the establishment of the society for promotion of Industrial art. Regaud, a visiting Italian artist, became its Superintendent. The Society drew the attention of Government which took it over in 1864. In 1872 it was converted into a school and mainly under the initiative of Sir Cecil Beadon the syllabus was extended so as to include designing, modelling, lithography, engraving, photography, sculpture and wood carving. In 1887 W. H. Zobbins who was then the Principal, wrote in his report: "There was but little indigenous art work in Bengal" and that the Bengali boys art sense went up to the mythological, grotesque kind and that they did not even have the eye for art. The school was shifted in 1893 to its present address. E. B. Havell became its Principal in 1906. He was a great teacher and art lover. With the zeal of a missionary he started the revival of the old works of Bengal. He left in 1915 and his successors took the cue from his lead. The famous Abanindranath Tagore was the Principal after him. Lord Northbrooke, the Governor-General, opened an art gallery for the school in 1894. With the help of the Bengal Government, the Indian Museum, Calcutta took over the collections in the school and they are housed in the Museum with the Principal of the school as the ex-officio Keeper and Officer-in-charge on behalf of the State Government. The centenary of this institution was celebrated on 19th December, 1964.

Maharaja's School of Arts (Trivandrum):

Founded in 1889 by the then Government of Travancore and continued as a Kerala State institution under the Director of Technical Education, Kerala State. Offers courses in drawing and painting, clay modelling, Ivory and woood carving, silversmithy, rattan and basket-making, lacquer work and carpet and Durrie weaving. Owns a good library of books on Arts and Crafts and publishes a student's magazine.

CULTURE:

Central Museum (Nagpur) See *Bulletin*, 1960, I, p. 93.

The Museum collections are mainly regional (Vidarbha and Mahākoshala). They are divided into six sections viz. (1) Art and Industry; (2) Archaeology; (3) Anthropology; (4) Painting; (5) Geology and (6) Natural History. Besides the articles exhibited in the public galleries there are large reserve collections which are available for study on application to the Curator. The Central Hall is devoted to the Art and Industry Section. The East wing with four rooms is for Natural History and Geology and the West wing with four rooms is devoted to Archaeology, Anthropology and the picture Gallery.

ART AND INDUSTRY SECTION

A model in plaster 'Return from the Field' is seen at the Main Entrance which leads into the Art Section. The arts and crafts exhibited in this section include specimens of plain and engraved metal ware from Banaras, Sialkot, Muradabad, Nasik; Tanjore; Bidar; Chanda; Bhandara; Mandla and Damoh. There are samples of horn and ivory work from Ratnagiri, Katak and Mysore, lacquer work from Jaipur and Sind, inlaid stone work from Agra, soapstone figures from Puri, gold thread sāris from Burhanpur, wood carvings from Bombay, Saharanpur and Nagpur, ornamental pottery from Uttar Pradesh. Schools of Art at Bombay and Madras and wooden models of fruits and vegetables from Belgaon. A silver model of 'Chakra' is worthy of attention. A group of locally made clay images of Hindu deities is a very popular exhibit. There is a set of illlustrated and illuminated manuscripts from the Bhonsla collection. There is also an attractive set of decorative pottery from England, Venice, China and Japan and some Cottage Industry products from Japan.

ARCHAEOLOGICAL SECTION

The antiquities exhibited in this section are divided into five classes: (1) Prehistoric, (2) Sculptures and Bronzes, (3) Coins, (4) Inscriptions, (5) Miscellaneous. In the Prehistoric Gallery are shown Stone Age and Copper Age antiquities found in the region. Copper Age antiquities comprising copper implements and Silver Bull's head and discs are from Gungeria in the Balaghat District, M. P. There are numerous antiquities of the Chalcolithic Age discovered at Mohenjodaro in Sind and Harappa in

the Punjab. These exhibits have been supplemented by the Palaeolithic, Neolithic, Copper Age and Bronze Age antiquities from Europe.

The Sculpture Gallery is one of he main attractive features of the Museum.

COIN COLLECTION

The coin collection of the Museum is fairly representative and is kept in the cabinet. Only the electroplated metal and plaster casts of selected types of Ancient, Mediaeval and Muslim coins are displayed in the gallery. The coin cabinet contains some very interesting coins which include punchmarked coins, coins of the Sātavāhanas, Guptas; Nalas; Śarabhapurīyas; Kalachuris of Chedi and Dakaiṇakosala, Paramaras; Cālukyas; Yādavas, the Sultans of Delhi and their contemporaries, the Mughals and their contemporaries including the Gonds of Deogarh.

In the inscription gallery there are Copper plates and Stone inscriptions ranging from circa 3rd century B.C. to 17th century A.D. Notable among the stone inscriptions are the Deotak inscription of Aśoka and Rudrasena I, kept in the porch, Karitalai and Bilhari inscriptions of the rulers of Chedi, the Sitabuldi Stone inscription of the time of Vikramāditya VI, Nagpur inscription of rulers of Mālva and a Persian inscription from the Mughal bath of Burhanpur. The collection of copper plates includes the charters of the Vākāṭakas, the Śarabhapurīyas, the Parivrājakas, the Somavansis, the Rāṣṭrakūtas, the Kalacuris, the Paramārs and the Candellas.

Among the miscellaneous exhibits an interesting Babylonian Seal deserves special mention. It dates from about 2000 B.C. It is kept in the cabinet. A few landscapes—paintings and photo-enlargements of National monuments and monuments in the Vidarbha region are displayed artistically in the section.

ANTHROPOLOGICAL SECTION

A large portion of the collection in this section consists of articles used by the Gonds; Oroans; Korkus and other aboriginal tribes. There are garments and clothes, headgears and foot-wears, ornaments, musical instruments and household articles, agricultural and hunting appliances. The material culture has been simple and other scenes depict the actual picture of tribal life.

There are memorial sculptures some of which are elaborately carved and depict hunting and battle scenes. In the Arms and Armour collection there are weapons of offence and defence, the unique among the arms may be mentioned the signal staves which were taken at the relief of Lucknow.

The most popular part of the gallery is a series of clay models illustrating the Sanskāras of a Mahārāshtra Brahmin.

PICTURE GALLERY

The Picture Gallery has been recently started. There are mostly modern Indian Paintings which may be grouped under three heads, viz., Portraits, Compositions and Landscapes. Some of the well known artists represented by their works in the Gallery are Sarvasri R. B. Dhurandhara; V. Masoji; M. V. Athavale; S. L. Haldankar; J. D. Gandhalekar; K. H. Hebbar; Prof. Langhmmer; V. S. Gurjar; S. Chawda; M. R. Acharekar; M. Satwalekar; A. A. Raiba; D. D. Dalal, S. H. Raza; Paulraj; W. V. Karanjkar, and B. Prabha.

The collection of Old Indian Paintings though small is representative of the principal styles of paintings. There are specimens of Mughal, Rajasthan, Kangra and Deccani style of paintings. There are two Nepal and Bhutani Banners. An old portrait of Mahadaji Scindia is said to have been drawn from life by an Italian artist.

GEOLOGICAL SECTION

Exhibits in this section are divided into four groups: (1) Type rocks, () Type Minerals, (3) Minerals of Economic importance, and (4) Fossils.

The type rocks are grouped as Igneous, Sedimentary and Metamorphic. The type mineral series is arranged acidwise and basewise. Samples of minerals of economic importance comprise ores of manganese, iron and copper, coal; bauxite; wolfram; limestone; clay; ochres; graphite; mica; asbestos; galena, salts; agates and jaspera. The fossil collections comprise specimens of plant, invertebrate and vertebrate fossils.

NATURAL HISTORY

The Natural History Section comprises (1) Bird Gallery, (2) Reptiles, Fishes and Invertebrate gallery, and (3) Mammal Gallery.

In the third gallery are shown large and small mammals. The collection of large hoofed mammals which includes Blue Bull; Sambar; Black-Buck; Barasinga; Chittal; Chinkara; Barking deer; Four-horned antelope; Mouse-deer and Bison. In the carnivors are included Sloth-bear; Tiger; Leopard; Wild cats; Hyaena; Wolf; Jackal; Fox and Wild dog. The collection of large mammals is displayed in a big show case against a suitable background colour scheme. Among the small mammals there are Porcuppine; Hare; Flying and other Squirrels; Bats; Civets; Mongoose; Otter; Ratel and Pangolin. The Primates are represented by Bandar and Langoor. The main attraction of the gallery is the series of habitat groups of Indian Tiger, Leopard and Chittal. Some of the wellknown Aesope's Fables illustrated with the use of taxidermical preparations of animals concerned provide good attraction for school children.

EDUCATION FACILITIES

About 1000 visitors come to the Museum every day. The Guide Lecturer explains the exhiits to the illiterate public in Hindi or Marathi and takes round the School Children when they come in batches with their teachers. Scholars and more advanced students are shown round the galleries by the Sectional Officers. The Museum supplies photographs of exhibits in the galleries and other photographs obtained from field to scholars for study and publication. There is a small library attached to the Museum. Bonafide research workers are permitted to make use of it. The Museum provides facilities for arranging special exhibitions such as one man show.

Chowwannur Sabha Matham (Chowannur Village, Trichur District, Kerala State):

A very ancient maṭham; possesses a collection of old manuscripts; they are lent to scholars for reference and study; runs a residential school, vedic and Sanskrit studies for Nambudri boys.

Darul Musannifeen (Azamgarh, Uttar Pradesh):

An academy of letters specializing in research on Islamic learning, mediaeval Indian history and Oriental studies: founded in 1914 by Maulana Shibli Nomani who realized the need for a modern institution for the study of and research in the various branches of Islamic learning and Oriental languages; its aim was to reorientate the basic concepts of mediaeval Islamic education and to interpret Islamic history and philosophy in modern terms. It started with a nucleus of a library of about 300 books. A small group of workers created by the founder who died soon after its establishment shouldered the work at the start. It was reorganized in 1916 in seven departments to facilitate resarch and study on modern lines. It then became an integrated and self contained institution where research, editing, collection, compilation, calligraphy, printing and sales were organised as parts of a unified process. The academy opened up for the Indian ulemas new vistas for creative writing by kindling in them an acumen for critical study of Islamic history and other branches of Muslim learning. During the last half a century it has published about a hundred volumes which include 15 volumes on Islamic history and another 17 volumes on the history of mediaeval India.

Gandhian Institute of Studies (Vārāṇasī):

Founded in 1960; is a world organisation devoted to the Gandhian ideals of peace and constructive work. The aims of the institute are to help in the growth of knowledge regarding human and social evolution and to devise ways and means for the application of this knowledge to the development of the Indian society. Inspired by the perspective of the sarvodaya movement, the institute conducts research studies in social science to evolve a more humane, democratic, peaceful and egalitarian social order. It conducts seminars, study groups, workshops, brings out publications and conducts other programmes of education and training. These activities are conducted both in the institute itself and in collaboration with selected universities and institutions. The universities are those of Bombay, Baroda, Delhi, Patna, Rudrapur and Kshī Vidyāpīṭh and the institutions are Samāj Prabodhan Sansthā, Poona and the centre for study of developing societies and association of voluntary agencies for rural development, N. Delhi. The consultative services of the institute help to mobilise the services of a selected few social scientists under its own auspices and also encourages them to carry on research programme

in the direction set by the institute at their own organisations. It has undertaken research projects in U.P., Bihar, Madhya Pradesh, Gujarat, Maharashtra, Madras and Delhi. The institute functions under a governing body under the chairmanship of Shri Nabakrusha Choudhury and consists of eminent sarvodaya leaders. Shri Jayaprakash Narayan, one of the founders of the institute, is its Honorary Director. It gets financial support from the Gandhi Smārak Nidhi, the Union Ministry of Education, the state governments of U.P., Madras, Gujarat, Andhra Pradesh and Mysore and the Asia Foundation.

Karnatak Vidya Vardhak Sangh (Dharwar):

Founded in 1890; mother institution for not only all the cultural activities but also the cultural development in the Kannada speaking area. The founders were a handful of government servants whose objective was to serve Kannada language and culture; it was responsible for the founding of the Kannada Sahitya Parishad at Bangalore, organization of research in Karnatak history and culture. Celebrated the 75th birthday of the Sangh on 20-7-1964.

Nation's League of Penfriends (86, Theatre Communication Building, Connaught Place, New Delhi).

Founded in 1924 and registered in 1954; objects: promotion of pen-friendship, hobbies, art and culture and to act as a forum for penfriends of all nations; has branches in various cities of India and abroad. Is affiliated to the Federation of International Organizations of Scholastic Correspondence and Exchanges, Paris.

FOLKLORE:

Folklore Akademi (12/1-A, Motinagar, New Delhi-15):

Founded in 1957 at Khanna in Punjab and functioning at New Delhi from 1961; completed a survey of the folklore of the Punjab, Himachalpradesh, Kashmir, Uttar Pradesh and Madhya Pradesh; has published some books on Folklore in Hindi and Punjabi.

MEDICINE:

Central Council of Āyurvedic Research (New Delhi):

Came into existence as a result of the recommendations of the Udupa Committee appointed by the Government of India in 1959; its activities cover training and research in Āyurvedic

science, assessing the values of Āyurveda and allocation of central assistance to institutions carrying on research in Āyurveda.

Government Āyurvedic College (Ernakulam):

Founded in 1959. Coaches students for a four years' course in Āyurveda; maintains an Āyurvedic pharmacy and conducts an Āyurvedic hospital.

PAINTING:

Ravi Varma School of Painting (P.O. Mavelikara, Kerala State):

Founded in 1915 by Rama Varma, the son of the late Rajah Ravi Varma; in 1956 the Kerala Government took it over as one of its special schools; coaches students for examinations in Certificate, Diploma and Post-diploma courses.

YOGA:

Yoga Institute for Psycho-Physical Therapy (II F, Lajpatnagar, New Delhi-14):

Founded in 1959; its activities cover teaching and practising of yogic exercises and āsanas and treating mental and physical disorders through Yoga; has published some books on Yoga āsanas.

U. S. A.

CULTURE:

The American Siam Society (1250, Princeton St., Santa Monia, California):

Founded in 1956. The Society carries on cultural and educational program about Thailand and neighbouring countries among Americans and sponsors the showing of motion pictures and slides and encourages exhibitions of Thai art, music and dance; owns a collection of rare books and monographs on Thailand; publishes occasionally a Report.

THEATRE:

American National Theatre and Academy (1545, Broadway, New York 36, N.Y.):

Founded in 1935 by an act of Congress. The general programme of the Academy comprises services to individuals and

groups interested in working in the theatre, sponsorship of dramatic productions and other activities to advance the performing arts in the U.S. Through the President's International programme for cultural presentations it carries on activities abroad like sending to various countries of Asia a number of American musicians, dancers and other performing artists. It publishes an Annual report.

U. S. S. R.

CULTURE:

The Pushkin Fine Arts Museum (12, Volkhonka Street, Pushkin, U.S.S.R.):

This is a museum of the history of world art from ancient times (4th millennium B.C.) to our day. It is one the largest collections of paintings, graphic art, sculpture and applied art in the USSR, being second only to the State Hermitage in Leningrad. The Museum contains originals or excellent copies of works by outstanding artists of ancient Babylon, Egypt, Rome, Greece and West Europe. The exhibits there include Egyptian mummies and statues of pharaohs; the pillar with the laws of King Hammurabi of Babylon inscribed on it (2000 years old). Also on display are originals by famous German, English and French painters and European sculptors of the 17th-18th centuries.

SECTION IV (B): SCHOLARS AND ARTISTS

INDIA

ART:

Ray, Satyajit (3, Lake Temple Road, Calcutta-29):

Film producer and Director. Born 1921; Education at Ballygunge Government School and Presidency College, Calcutta; joined a British advertisement firm, D. G. Keymer & Co., as Visualiser, 1943; Art Director 1950; started in 1952 first feature film Pather Pancholi which he finished in 1955; it won the Cannes Special award in 1956 and was recognised as the best film in 1957 at San Francisco. From 1956 he took to full time film making notable among his films are Aparājito, 1957, Jalasaghar, 1958, Devi, 1959, Teen Kanya 1961. Was made Padma Sree by the Government of India in 1959; founded the first film Society in Calcutta in 1947; has published articles in *Sight and Sound* and *Sequence*.

ARTS AND CRAFTS:

Achary, Kesavan Appukuttan (Kerala):

Talented artist famous for ivory carving; selected by the All-India Handicrafts Board, New Delhi for the National award on 25-1-65 from the President of the Indian Union (*Panchayati Raj*, March 1965).

Bashyam, Sthapathi G. (Madras State):

Talented artist famous for bronze casting; selected by the All India Handicrafts Board, New Delhi for the National award on 25-1-65 from the President of the Indian Union. (*Panchayati Raj*, March 1965).

Chitrakar, Rajanikanta (West Bengal):

An artist who not only possesses mastery over the traditional methods of painting popularly known as *pata* but an experienced image maker, modeller of clay toys and ritual pottery. To-day he is the sole survivor of the famous Kalighat school of painting struggling to avert extinction. Selected by the All India Handicrafts Board, New Delhi for the National award on 25-1-65 from the President of the Indian Union (*Panchayati Raj*, March 1965).

Hasan Ali alias Kalloo Hafiz (Vārāṇasī):

An artist who has shown his talent in weaving silk brocades; selected by the All India Handicrafts Board, New Delhi for the National award on 25-1-65 from the President of the Indian Union (*Panchayati Raj*, March 1965).

Khan, Fyaz (Lucknow):

Talented artist who keeps up the traditional craft of chikan work; selected by the All India Handicrafts Board, New Delhi for the National award on 25-1-65 from the President of the Indian Union (*Panchayati Raj*, March 1965).

Mahapatra, Artatran (Orissa):

One of the priest painters of the famous Jagannātha temple at Puri. The traditional skill and technique of image making in pith, clay and tin-foil have survived because of his deep knowledge and understanding of the local rites and ceremonies. Selected by the All India Handicrafts Board, New Delhi for the National award on 25-1-65 from the President of the Indian Union. (*Panchayati Raj*, March 1965).

Mahapatra, Jagannatha (Orissa):

Talented artist who follows the old school of painting; shows extraordinary skill in painting in the ancient style of the Chitrakars of Orissa; selected by the All India Handicrafts Board, New Delhi, for the National award on 25-1-65 from the President of the Indian Union (*Panchayati Raj*, March 1965).

Maheshi Devi (Himachal Pradesh):

A peasant woman who had kept up the tradition of 'embroidered painting in the Chamba roomal style. Not only has she practised the art herself but trained a number of women in its intricacies. Selected by the All India Handicrafts Board, New Delhi for the National award on 25-1-1965 from the President of the Indian Union (*Panchayati Raj*, March 1965).

Parameshwarachar, C. (Mysore):

Expert in wood carving and temple building; selected by the All India Handicrafts Board, New Delhi for the National Award on 25-1-65 from the President of the Indian Union. (*Panchayati Raj*, March 1965):

Cangrez, Abdul Qadir (Kashmir Valley):

Master craftsman; "the oldest and most experienced Kanishwal weaver"; selected by the All India Handicrafts Board, New Delhi for the National award (a presentation of Rs. 1000, a *tāmrapatram* (brass plaque) and an *angavastram* (shawl of raw silk with Chamba roomal embroidery) on 25-1-1965 from the President of Indian Union (*Panchayati Raj*, March 1965).

Salvi, Kesavalal Laherchand (Guzerat):

Talented artist who has played a great role in maintaining the rich standard of patola weaving; selected by the All India Handicrafts Board, New Delhi for the National award on 25-1-65 from the President of the Indian Union (*Panchayati Raj*, March 1965).

Vadiraj, Devalakunda (Devalakunda):

Talented artist who has attained fame as a sandalwood carver selected by the All-India Handicrafts Board, New Delhi for the national award on 25-1-1965 from the President of the Indian Union. (*Panchayati Raj*, March 1965).

Vaithialingam Pathar (Pondicherry):

Talented artist famous for his extraordinary skill in toy making; selected by the All India Handicrafts Board, New Delhi for the national award on 25-1-1965 from the President of the Indian Union (*Panchayati Raj*, March 1965).

CULTURE:

Agarwala, Dr. Vasudev Sharan (College of Indology, Benares Hindu University, Varanasi):

English and Hindi writer. Born 1904; Education at Benares Hindu University (1923-27) and Lucknow University (1927-31), Ph.D. 1941; D. Litt. 1946; Curator, Mathura Museum (1931-34); Lucknow Museum (1940-45); Superintendent, Museums Branch of the Archaeological Survey and Government of India (1946-51); Professor of Art and Architecture, Benares Hindu University and Director, School of Vedic Studies; General Editor for Prakrit Text Society Series; Nepal Endowment Sanskrit Publication series; has published about 15 books; Hindi: *Prithvi-Putra, Harsha Charit; Meghadhuta*; English: *India as known to Panini* etc.

Rajamannar, Dr. P. V. (9, Victoria Crescent Road, Madras-8):

Scholar and Playwright. Born in Rajahmundry, 1901. Education at the Madras University; B.A., B.L., D.Litt. Chief Justice, Madras High Court; President Sangit Natak Akademi; author of one act plays in Telugu; has edited an anthology, *Puṣpāñjali*.

Sanyal, Prabodh Kumar (28/2, Dhakuri Station Road, Calcutta-31):

Bengali author, playwright and Journalist. Born 1905; education at Scottish Church school and City College, Calcutta; travelled extensively in India, Burma, Tibet, Pakistan and Soviet Union; awarded first prize as the best scenario writer, 1942; Delegate to the Afro-Asian Writers' Conference at Tashkent, 1958; member, Indian Cultural Delegation to Pakistan, 1957, Nepal, 1960; again visited USSR on invitation by the Soviet Writers' Union Board, 1959, has also visited Germany, England and France on invitation from government and cultural organizations. Publications: 84 books comprising fiction, travels, dramas etc.

DANCE:

Padma, S. (Nrittyodaya Art Centre, Madras):

Dancer: Introduced to the world of dance and music; even as a child, Padma, daughter of the well known Tamil film producer director, Mr. K. Subrahmanyam, had her initial training in Bharata Nāṭyam at the Nrittyodaya Art Centre, founded by her father. Later she received methodical training in classical dancing under Guru B. Ramiah Pillai and, in recent years she has taken further lessons from other noted teachers. Apart from establishing her credentials as a promising exponent of Bharata Nāṭyam, Padma, through a series of dance-dramas, has displayed her keen appreciation of choreography. Currently studying for a Master's degree in Music, she is well equipped to base her experiments on the firm foundations of both theory and tradition. To date Padma has presented seven dance-dramas, the most notable productions being *Valli Tirumaṇam, Mīnākṣi Kalyāṇam* and *Śyāmā*.

Satyanarayana, Vedantam (Kūchipūḍi, Andhra Pradesh): See *Bulletin*, 1961, I, p. 108.

A well known Kuchipudi dancer. Training in the art from his seventh year under his master Chanta Krishnamurti. Presidential award in 1961 when he was barely 25. In an exclusive

interview which B. V. K. Sastry had with this artist (IWI 13-12-64, pp. 34-35) Mr. Sastry writes: Many may wonder whether the masculine mind can comprehend and elicit an intensity of expression and an ethos so intimately associated with women. But the question becomes irrelevant when we witness a performance of Vedantam Satyanarayana Sarma in any of the feminine leading roles of the Kuchipudi classics. His portrayals are compelling and communicative and bring forth the essence of the *nāyikā* with remarkable ease and abandon. He expresses himself with a fluency even in the subtle emotional shades that leaves one wondering whether there could be any further possibility for improvement. "What do you consider the essence of the Kuchipudi tradition?". "The essence of Kuchipudi *abhinaya* is to unify *śringāra* and *bhakti* and so sublimate the soul with the Lord. Appreciated in this light, these songs will be found fully meaningful and will underline the sublime character of the art. It is not the fault of the Kuchipudi tradition if one does not develop the nobility of mind or the level of appreciation to enjoy if in its proper perspective." When asked whether he would like to explore further and try new possibilities in the Kuchipudi art, Satyam emphatically stated that he would strive his best to maintain the purity and tradition of the School. In spite of wide travels in India, presenting shows in different cities, Satyam and his troupe seem to be still insulated from extraneous influences, and in this may lie his strength. Now he is also occupied with the running of the Siddhendra Kalākshetram, at Kuchipudi itself, in which students are trained in this art in accordance with the ancient *gurukula* system. Despite his determination not to yield to the changing spirit of times, we do not know how long he can swim against the current. Discussing the school, Satyam admitted that he had been obliged to admit some girls. This is, of course, contrary to the tradition established by Siddhendra Yogi. It remains to be seen in due course whether more male Satyabhāmās and Ushās will graduate out of the institution, or whether Satyam. as the last master in this art, will yield place to women who are the right claimants of that character.

LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE:

Akilandam, P. V. (171, Lloyds Road, Madras):

Tamil writer. Born 1923; Education at Maharaja's College, Pudukkottai; Secretary-General for the Federation of All-India Tamil writers; has published more than 15 books comprising

short stories, literary articles, plays, juvenile literature and translation of a novel of Oscar Wilde and stories of Maupassant.

Chidambaranatha Chettiar, Dr. A.: (Madras University, Madras-5):

Tamil scholar and author. Born in 1907 at Kumbakonam; education at the Madras and Annamalai Universities, M.A., Ph.D. Chief Editor, English-Tamil Dictionary, Madras University; Professor and Head of the Department of Tamil, Annamalai University; acted as Vice-Chancellor of the Annamalai University; visited the Universities in the United Kingdom on invitation by the British Council; toured Singapore, Malaya and Ceylon on cultural missions; has also visited Italy, France, Switzerland and Egypt; Delegate of India at the 25th International Orientalists' Congress at Moscow (1960), Member of the Madras Legislative Council from April 1959; has served and serves on a number of academic and literary bodies. Publications: *Advanced Studies in Tamil Prosody* (English); *Booker Washington's Life* (Tamil); *Munpani Kālam* (Tamil literary essays); *Tamil Ōśai* (Linguistic essays); *Tamil Kattum Ulagu* (Literary essays); *Veetu Tirumakal* (Linguistic and literary essays); translated Shakespeare's Othello into Tamil for the Sahitya Akademi, New Delhi.

Desikan, S. N. Srirama (Madras): Poet and scholar.

Education at the Tirupati Sanskrit College under the well-known Mahamahopadhyaya Uttamur Viraraghavacharya; a scholar in five languages, particularly in Sanskrit and Tamil. Has rendered the *Tiruppāvai, Tirukkuṟaḷ,* selections from Bhārati from Tamil to Sanskrit, Vemana from Telugu to Sanskrit and seven plays from Sanskrit to Tamil. His latest is the rendering of Kamban's *Bālakāṇḍam* of the Rāmāyaṇa into Sanskrit. He has chosen 450 of the 1396 stanzas in the Kamban's Bālakāṇḍam and translated them into Sanskrit. His endeavour is to present the pure Kamban. The Tamil poet while adhering to the basic story of his original, permitted himself some additions and departures. It is these which he has translated of course preserving the continuity of the story. He hopes to pursue the project and complete his translation of the rest of the Kamba Rāmāyaṇa into Sanskrit in the course of a year.

Ilavazhaganar alias Balasundaram (Gurukulam, Mambakam, Chingleput Dt.):

Tamil scholar. Born in 1904 in Mambakam near Madurantakam; began studying Tamil literature under Tirukumaraguru of

Madurantakam in 1916 and later under Tiru Mylai Sivamuthu and Maraimalai Adigal; teachers' training in 1922 at the Teachers' Training school, Saidapet; worked for some time as Teacher near Mambakam; joined the Śaiva Siddhānta works Publishing Society; was editor of a journal entitled *Mullai Koḍi;* in 1949 started a Gurukula at Mambakam, which houses the Tiruvalluvar Tirumandiram of which he is head; has lectured on Śaiva Siddhānta extensively in Madras, Bombay and Calcutta and has received honours and titles in recognition of his erudition in Tamil; Publications: quite a large number covering essays, anthologies, commentaries etc.

Krishnaveni Ammaiyar, S. (39, T. P. Koil St., Madras-5):

Tamil scholar and savant. Born in 1888 in Madras; early education in Telugu, Sanskrit and English under different teachers and religious instruction under distinguished traditional scholars; passed Final women's Examination equal to SSLC in 1922. Pandit at the Lady Willingdon High School from 1922 to 1946; has rendered unique social service by conducting religious classes and helping and founding several organizations for the study of religious classics in Tamil; was awarded titles and other honours in recognition of her learning, selfless social, religious and cultural work and philanthrophy for the cause of learning. Is author, editor and commentator of several works in Tamil; to mention some *Śrī Vacana Bhūṣaṇa viḷakkangaḷ, Periyāḷvār, Villiputtūr viḷakku,* etc.

Manickam, V. Sp. (Principal, Alagappa College, Karaikudi):

Tamil scholar and writer. Born in 1917 in Melaiccivapuri, Trichinopoly District; education at the Annamalai and Madras Universities: M.A., M.O.L., Ph.D., besides learning at the feet of traditional masters; was Professor of Tamil at the Alagappa College, Karaikudi and now Principal there. Among his publications are: *Manaiviyin Urimai* (plays); *Valluvam* (imaginary speeches); *Kadaivilakku* (poems).

Purushottama Naidu, B. R. (32, Rajagopala Naicken St., Chintadripet, Madras):

Tamil scholar and author; born in Buvanagiri in 1901; education at the Madras University; Vidwan; studied Tamil literature under distinguished traditional scholars; now Reader in Tamil in the University of Madras; notable among his works are ten volumes (philosophy) in Tamil, *Tiruvai Mozhi-Iṭṭin Tamiḻāk-*

kam; Ācārya Hṛdayam with Maṇavāḷa Māmunigaḷ commentary Tamiḻākkam.

Rajamanickkam Pillai, Dr. M. (1/15, Ibrahimji Sahib 1st Lane, Muthialpet, Madras-1.

Tamil scholar and author. Born in 1907 at Kurnool; Studied Tamil literature and grammar under distinguished traditional masters; education in the Madras University; M.A., M.O.L., Ph.D.; Professor of Tamil at the Thiagarajar College, Madurai from 1953 to 1959; now Reader in Tamil at the University of Madras; author of several research publications in Tamil; to mention some *Sindhu Veli Nāgarigam* (Indus Valley Civilization); *Pallavar Varalāṟu*, History of the Pallavas); *Choḻar Varalāṟu* (History of the Cholas; *Periapurāna Āraicci* (A study of *Periapurāṇam*), *Śaiva Samayam* (Saiva Religion and Philosophy); *History of Tamil language and literature*; has also contributed several research articles to the *Journal of the Madras University*, the *Journal of Oriental Research*, Madras University and *Tamil Culture.*

Thooran, Periaswamy, M.P. (43, II Main Road, Kasturba Nagar, Madras-20):

Tamil scholar and writer. Born in Manchakkattuvalasu, Coimbatore District in 1906; High school career at Erode and later joined the Presidency college, Madras in 1927; B.A. (1938) and L.T. (1939); was teacher for some time at Gobichettipalayam; in 1933 joined the Ramakrishna Mission Vidyalaya, a Gurukula founded and conducted by Sri T. S. Avinashilingam Chettiar; Headmaster of Ramakrishna Mission Vidyālaya for nine years. Chief Editor, Tamil Encyclopaedia. Has published more than forty books comprising poems, short stories, plays, essays, songs set to music. In recognition of his work for 15 years in bringing out the Tamil Encyclopaedia he was presented with a purse. He is now devoted to bringing out a Children's encyclopaedia in five volumes.

Varadarajan, M. (Chellammal Street, Madras-30):

Tamil scholar. Born in Tirupattur in 1912; M.A., M.O.L., Ph.D. Was Professor of Tamil at Pachaiyappa's College, Madras and from 1961 Professor of Tamil in the Madras University. Has published about 50 books in Tamil covering several subjects like language and literature, literary criticism, travel, short-stories, essays etc. This includes about ten novels.

MUSIC:

Bose, Sunil Kumar (C/o All India Radio, New Delhi):

Scholar musician. Born 1914, M.A., Calcutta University; learnt classical music from childhood from outstanding Ustads; recipient of "Best man" gold medal at All-India Music competitions in Calcutta and Benares; joined A.I.R. 1939; invented one musical instrument "Ballaki"; member, Music Curriculum committee, Baroda University, 1950; has published many articles on music in different languages.

PAINTING:

Adalja, Jivan (18/27, Shakti Nagar, Delhi-6):

b. 1931; studied at the Sir J. J. School of Art, Bombay and on a scholarship in Poland for the study of Graphic Art 1958-60. Has exhibited his works in one-man and group shows. Participated in the Biennale Exhibition of Prints, Tokyo, 1962 and 1964; Indian Graphics in Poland; First International Exhibition in Saigon; Kunika Art Centre's shows in Manila and Tokyo and in the International Exhibition of Drawings and Engravings at Lugano, Switzerland. Sri Adalja's works are represented in public collections such as those of the Lalit Kala Akademi, New Delhi, National Museum, Warsaw, J.J. Institute of Applied Art, Bombay, Academy of Fine Arts, Calcutta and in numerous private collections in India and abroad. He is at present Graphic Designer, Publications Division, Government of India.

Bhavsar, Ramnik (2413, Vadi Kotdi's Pole, Shahpur, Ahmedabad-1):

b. 1932; studied at Government Industrial Training Workshop, Ahmedabad. Has participated in several All India Art Exhibitions and won a Gold Medal at Amritsar, 1961. He is a Founder-Member of the "Progressive Painters" Group at Ahmedabad; and works at present in New Jehangir Vakil Mills, Ahmedabad, as their artist. Sri Bhavsar is represented in the Punjab Art Gallery and other private and public collections in India and abroad.

Bisht, R. S. (C/o Government College of Arts and Crafts, Lucknow):

b. 1928; studied at the Government College of Arts, Lucknow. Has been exhibiting in several one-man shows in India and in collective shows in India and abroad sponsored by the All India

Fine Arts and Crafts Society and the Lalit Kala Akademi. He has won prizes in the Mysore Dussera Exhibition, 1955 and the Lucknow Annual Exhibition, 1958. His paintings are in various Government Houses, Museums, art galleries and in private collections. Sri Bisht is at present on the staff of the Government College of Art, Lucknow.

Chhabda, Bal (Darshan Apartments, Mount Pleasant Road, Malabar Hill, Bombay-6):

b. 1923; a self-taught painter who has been working since 1958. Has been exhibiting in various shows including the National Exhibitions of Art. Represented in Paris at "Salon de la Jeune Peinture", Musuem of Modern Art, 1960 and won the Tokyo Governor's Award at the Tokyo Biennale, 1961. Participated in the group show "Ten Contemporary Painters of India" touring the United States.

Davierwalla, A. M. (Ardeshir Mansion, Opp. Surya Cinema, Parel, Bombay-12):

b. 1922; a self-taught sculptor. Davierwalla is qualified as a pharmaceutical chemist and for several years worked in his spare time but is now a professional artist. He started exhibiting in collective shows in 1950 and has had a number of one-man exhibitions also. Participated in Sao Paulo Biennale and in the Commonwealth Art exhibitions. Has won numerous awards. Bombay Governor's prize and Silver Medal, 1955; Indian Sculptor's Association Gold Medal, 1958; Maharashtra State Exhibition first Prize in 1957 and 1958. His works are in the National Gallery of Modern Art, Tata Institute of Fundamental Research, Air India International and in private collections.

Hebbar, K. K. (South Kanara):

See *Bulletin*, 1959, Part I, p. 136. The following extracts from IWI 6-12-64 elucidate the views of this Indian painter on his art. "The first thing I would depend on in judging a painting is the total impact it makes on me. The onlooker should feel the capacity of the composition to make him forget himself and the surroundings, and be conscious only of the work before him." "I never check with the title. It matters little whether what is portrayed is a dancing figure, a waif, or a non-objective pattern ... In fact when it comes to the annual exhibitions of art societies nothing irritates me as much as these fantastic divisions they announce—modern art, traditional style, etc. I don't believe in these categories." "If you are an Indian

your art has to be Indian, even if you are an abstract painter." "Academic training is dull and drab, when the teacher has no real knowledge of art or has never been influenced by art. One should not attempt to teach art as if one knew all the answers." "Teaching till today is mainly confined to the training of skill, although it is clear that even extreme mastery over draughtsmanship cannot make one an artist. What matters is the ability to perceive the painterly qualities. Thus the emphasis should really be on the fundamentals of art—the plastic elements, significance of line, form and colour in relation to space".

Jacob, Mrs. Anila (9, Mandapam Road, Kilpauk, Madras-10):

b. 1941 in Kottayam (Kerala); studied at Government College of Arts and Crafts, Madras winning a First Class. She is a free lance sculptor. Mrs. Jacob has exhibited in all the major Indian exhibitions since 1961. Represented at the Exhibition of Ceramic Art, Washington D.C., 1963. Has received various prizes for Ceramics in 1962, 1963 and the Artists' Handicrafts Union Prize, 1964. A participant in the Sculptors' Camp at Mahabalipuram, 1965.

Mehta, Tyeb (B-7, Nizamuddin East, N. Delhi-14):

b. 1925; studied painting at Sir J. J. School of Art, Bombay; Professional painter and sculptor. Has been exhibiting his works since 1959. Lived in London, 1959 to 1964 and his work was represented in numerous galleries there and in collective exhibitions such as Art Alive, 1960, the London Group Show, 1960-62, Tagore India Exhibition, 1962 and Indian Painting Now, 1965. Sri Mehta's works are in many well known collections.

Narayan. Badri: (8, Shri Prasad, 15th Road, Chambur, Bombay-71):

b. 1929; a self-taught painter, professional, practising since 1948. He has held fourteen one man exhibitions. Participated in most of the National Exhibitions of Art. Sri Badri Narayan is also a graphic artist using various print media. He is a writer of short stories and verse.

SCULPTURE:

Lukas, Petras (Santiniketan, W. Bengal):

Painter cum sculptor; hails from Venezuela in South America; Master of Arts Degree from superior Institute of Art and Industry

in Italy (1930); studied at the Royal Academy of Rome (1948-53) also at the Academy of Fine Arts, Vienna specializing in portraits. Professor at the Academy of Designing, Vienna, held the chair in the Faculty of Fine Arts at the Andes de Merida, Venezuela from 1959-62; joined the Kalā Bhavan, Śāntiniketan where he has been working for the past two years; has many awards; his works have been acquired by the Belgian and Italian museums. An exhibition of his paintings and sculptures was held at Kalā Bhavan, Śāntiniketan in February 1965. The painting section had a number of portraits, noteworthy was one of Mr. S. R. Das, Vice-Chancellor. There were compositions with Rabindranath of which one was a life-size painting, others depicting various moods. He uses many varieties of colour in his work, which are generally sober. His sculpture portraits were exceedingly nice and handled very deftly both in character and technique and besides, he had executed some original and also some enlarged copies from terracottas of India.

Sandha, Miss Harbhajan (Sandhu-Mann Iron and Steel works Industrial Area, Sonepat, Punjab):

Sculptor; born in 1935; M.A. in fine arts; specializes in bronze casting; also trained as a painter; was government of India scholar for two years; exhibited in the National Exhibition of Art; represented in the National Gallery of modern art. The art critic to the *Hindustan Times* commenting on the exhibition which she held at the Triveni Kala Sangam, New Delhi in October 1964 observes: "Miss Sandhu, who so far had been too modest to display her works, is, as one can observe for oneself, a mature artist with a strong sense of reality and an equal one of form. Though each of her pieces is in the contemporary idiom, none of them suffers from vagueness or pretentious subjectivism. Her 'subjects' include such well-known ones as Gossip, Mother and Child, Solitude and Prayer. They also include subjects appropriate to the technical age—Guard, At the Air Port and Rotating Restaurant. It is not the subject that makes for a firm form, but execution. That is where Miss Sandhu excels. The sculptor employs as many as seven mediums: wood, lead, iron, stone, bronze, cement, sculpt metal and aluminium. And all these she handles with equal felicity. But apart from this technical mastery, she has something still more important to a sculptor, a clear vision. The characteristic qualities of each subject are embodied in a given medium with imaginative or dramatic exaggeration."

SECTION V: EXHIBITIONS

INTERNATIONAL EXHIBITION OF CHILDREN'S DRAWINGS AND PAINTINGS AT PRAGUE, 1964

The international exhibition of children's art "The Child and the World", which was held in Prague from October 6 to November 8, was the most extensive and had broader participation than any held in the past years. The universal importance of the exhibition has been stressed by the fact the INSEA, the world organisation of art teachers, a non-governmental organisation with consultative status in UNESCO, whose president Dr. J. A. Soika, the distinguished pedagogue of West Berlin, is participating personally and has himself actively helped publicise the exhibition abroad, has assumed patronage over it.

THE PARTICIPANTS

The exhibition which is installed at the Hybernu Hall contains some 3,000 children's drawings and paintings from 53 countries from all continents. The creations of European children are especially well represented. There are special exhibits of children's works of the German Federal Republic, Austria, France, Italy, Great Britain, Switzerland, Belgium, Holland, Luxembourg, and the Scandinavian countries.

Paintings and drawings of children from the Soviet Union Poland, Hungary, the German Democratic Republic, Rumania, Bulgaria, Yugoslavia, distant Cuba, the Vietnamese Republic and the Mongolian People's Republic are also being shown. Other countries which have sent in pictures are the United States, Canada, India, Japan, Iran, Australia, New Zealand, and a number of Arab and Latin American countries.

The Czechoslovak section is having several hundreds of the best pictures by Czech and Slovak children. They include paintings, drawings, graphic art, combinations of them and small three-dimensional works. Their selection was an extremely difficult and responsible task because more than 6,000 works were sent in by schools, and individuals from all parts of the country. They were evaluated in two rounds by the central commission for selection

and the most interesting works of children of various age groups chosen.

The visitors of the exhibition will have an opportunity for making comparisons on a world-wide scale. Seeing the creations of children's fantasy will be interesting as well as their perception of and response to the world around them. The exhibition will offer a fine opportunity for comparing the methods of teaching art in the various countries.

GREAT INTEREST

It is therefore understandable that the exhibition has aroused great interest even before its opening among art teachers. The first visitors of the exhibition are the delegates of the second national conference of art instructors which was held in Prague from October 6 to 9. Also attending the conference of Czechoslovak art pedagogues are over 100 guests from the German Federal Republic, Japan, France, Holland, Canada, Australia, Italy, Britain, Switzerland and Hungary. Groups of visitors will come to see the exhibition from the German Democratic Republic the German Federal Republic, Austria and Hungary who will come by chartered buses and visitors from almost all European countries, as well as the United States and Japan are expected. Interest in attending the exhibition has been expressed in letters from Ceylon, Mauritius, Madagascar, Argentina and a number of African countries.

(*Searchlight*, dated 18-10-64).

EXCITING GROUP OF CALCUTTA PAINTERS

The group of Calcutta painters, who are exhibiting at Artistry House, were formed last year for holding a joint show in Delhi.

Thought by some to be a happy echo of the Calcutta Group of the forties, the team has no common creed, although all its members abjure academic conventions and strongly believe that most of the present trends in modern art are derived from the subjective conception of a picture, which has replaced that of a window open on nature. They feel that the serious Indian artists deserve a much larger audience than they have found so far and regret the lack of sufficient official encouragement for them and patronage of their work.

Some of the exhibits give the impression that what has coloured the minds of the artists is the idea of a new pattern of world unity or a new chaos: the idea of the potentiality which may recreate everything or destroy everything. The visions of the uncertain future are stronger at times than the reality of our actual surroundings.

The bright and brave show is to be considered as a kind of salon des independants. The members are not guided by a formula or dogma. No one technique or way of thought is laid down; each painter works in his own way but has respect for the experiments done by the others. They are diversely talented and daring young artists feverishly engaged in breaking new ground for Indian art. There are exhibits which incite one to examine the question of influence and imitation of old or contemporary masters. A number of pictures are so much under the spell of Picasso, Chagall and other leading artists that one feels they may be an answer to the system of copying traditional Indian art in our art schools and colleges. But there are also good examples of sensitively receiving influences and turning them to new purposes out of an imagination quite one's own.

Nikhil Biswas shows his interest in the substantial aspects of the human figure in his strongly constructed paintings of a fight and a clown series with clear outlines and an overall bright tonality. Although it is easy to identify the sources of his inspiration, he reveals a good grasp of form and capacity for characteriztion.

Ranjan Rudra has a marked personality of his own and whatever influences he has undergone up to now he has absorbed them in his compositions with Bengali letters, emphasizing tone value or textural effects, giving subtle suggestions of shapes and patterns or just offering a playful arrangement of forms.

Gopal Sanyal, whose work has been appreciated in several previous shows, makes an impact on the viewer with his careful analysis of volume in black and white or through a decorative colour scheme. Despite the stylized poses of some of the figures with big bulging eyes, his paintings are notable for their pictorial vigour. We are introduced to a new Rabin Mondal in a set of paintings obviously inspired by a kind of primitive tribal or African art. The criss-cross patterns strike one with great force. The fluency of line evident in the embellishment to his colour work

is as satisfying on its own. The construction of an architectural pattern with glowing colours is worthy of special study.

When we come to Bijan Chowdhury we are amazed by the depth and variety of his new works. He still draws heavily on the traditional past and terracotta techniques and relies on dramatic suggestions. Happy to have set up a large studio, he has worked with diligence and passion on a large panel or mural-like composition with simple curves, circles and staccato lines and a rich palette. In several other pictures planes slide and dissolve into deeper planes and each layer of a paint or broken line becomes so unexpected. Another exciting painter is Prakash Karmakar who was one of the first Calcutta artists to have held pavement exhibitions. The most striking exhibit, which was lost on its way to the gallery and later found with a rickshaw-puller in Howrah, is familiar in style. In the few works that show a departure from his earlier manner one observes his interest in symbolic suggestions, primitive forms and strange compositions of almost mystical contents.

(*Statesman*, dated 1-11-64).

EXHIBITION OF THE INDIAN SOCIETY OF ORIENTAL ART, CALCUTTA, 1964

The Indian Society of Oriental Art, the well-known organisation founded by Abanindra Nath Tagore, appears to have warmed itself up again after a long time. Also it seems the organisers have given up their dogma of promoting only the so-called "Indian Art". At the exhibition, which is now on view at the Artistry House organised by this Society, paintings of varied nature, including modernistic art, have been selected without any prejudice.

The list of artists includes such eminent names as Gopen Roy Kalyan Sen and Biren De. Recognised modern painters, however, are still missing from the list. We hope in the next exhibition of the Society this gap will be filled up.

The exhibits have been classified into three sections--Indian art, representational art and modernistic art. Among the painters who practice Indian art, a tendency to draw in an 'unrefined' manner with shaky lines, defective anatomy and crude colour is noticeable. They aim at, I believe, acquiring the rustic vigour

of the folk artists. But real art is created only when it is spontaneous. Can such an accomplished painter like Samar Bhowmick do away with his sophistication and become a rustic as a patua? Folk art is accepted and admired only if it springs from folk imagination.

Gopen Roy with his usual control on brush and colour has painted some really fascinating pictures.

Kalyan Sen, though wellknown in the art circles, has failed to satisfy us.

Biren De, who never tries anything but representational art, appears to be still unsurpassed in chiaroscuro with water washes.

Among the modernists, the name of Kum Kum Munsi comes first. His 'Doves' is communicative yet modernistic. He has abstracted the forms at his pleasure but has not fled into total abstraction.

Barin Roy is another good modernist, His 'Sad Moon' deserves mention because of the mood depicted in it.

'Mother' is a good specimen in Batik work by Jyotindranath Roy.

* * *

(*Hindustan Standard*, 9-12-64).

THE ANNUAL EXHIBITION AT THE ACADEMY OF FINE ARTS, CALCUTTA, 1964

The total number of items is 269,—paintings and sculptures. The number is reached after rigid selection, and the study of this valuable treasure provides a bird's eye view of the progress and achievement during the year.

The exhibition will be open daily till January 10. This year the Academy has a new spacious hall for the display, equipped with fluorescent lamps; the arrangement is makeshift; yet it works so well that one does not see how things could be bettered. The setting for the pictures is just right; what could have been a palace with a little effort is a home for the arts instead, where

one is at once set at ease by the avoidance of excess and the prevailing spirit of moderation.

West Bengal's painters, including those distinguished by their works as well as by their seniority have shown a laudable spirit of cooperation. We find in the rank Atul Bose, Satish Sinha, Purna Chakravarty, and Chaitanya Dev Chattopadhyaya. They have contributed not more than two apiece; yet both their technique and excellence impress even within this narrow compass. Atul Bose's pastel study of two birds "Tied Together" (25) only suggests the binding force of love, and the bond being inward, requires a more than common evidence of its existence, which in the case of the dumb creation becomes all the more difficult to supply. But the painter has produced the effect by his tact and imagination. Chaitanya Dav Chattopadhyaya in two studies (33,34) offers views of deities with a tantrik background. He brings his art up to the frontiers of religion. Satish Sinha's Self-Portrait (247) is a view rendered with scrupulous care, and is an evidence of his pre-occupation in recent years with portrait technique which aims at mirroring a face but with a view to interpreting.

ART LOSS

We must refer to Dipen Bose's "Mirabai" (26); his death a few days ago has taken from our midst an artist of talent. This painting shows his style; the traditional Indian manner is overlaid, but never completely lost by his affection for later or more realistic styles. Among younger artists Bijan Chowdhury's "White Horse" is most worth mentioning. It is also the recipient of the Academy's Award for the best work in Modern Art. The effect he produces out of a combination of red and white is arresting; for Chowdhury is most in his element when depicting action. His art has often the qualities of drama.

We shall try to avoid classification, and mention the paintings as they struck us without resorting to a formal order; in giving a first impression the formality of this kind seems out of place. Sukumar Das in his "Howrah Bridge from Calcutta" (58) describes the view and is almost naturalistic in his rendering. But the solid effect he produces, the sense of majesty he communicates and the sober, controlled manner combine to make it worthwhile to look at it. D. K. Deb-Barman of Santiniketan in "Potters Bargain" (65) presents a view of cart-loads of brick-coloured pots being unloaded by women. Done in a straight-

forward manner, the colour scheme is traditional Indian. Its merit is seen in the skilled organization of the scene. Vijay Kr. Gupta, also of Santiniketan in "Kashmiri Family" (89), paints with a heavy use of colour group, possessing both unusual bulk and stature. His mode is Modern Western, which seems to show that students and teachers at Santiniketan are not committed to a single style. The family group of the painting is effectively knit and gives an indoor quality suggestive of the title chosen.

SOLIDITY

Gopal Ghosh's paintings (78A & 78B) have numerical descriptions without names; one is a view of churches and the other of fields with a rival, carrying boat. The introduction of solid buildings seems a new feature in his painting. They stand out well in their firm solidity, but what gives strength is perhaps more than stones, otherwise it is doubtful if bare stones could have stirred the artist's imagination. Ghosh's work always seems an exciting experience.

Indra Dugar's "Night" (69) and "Riverbend" (70) are both charming views. His renderings have a poetical effect. Rathin Mitra's "Struggle for Existence" (115) and "Victim" (116) testify to pessimism. The latter is the picture of a bird in throes of death having been shot by an arrow.

"Rama & Kaoushalya" (151) by Parmar Khodidas B (Bhavnagar) is the mother-and-child motif attractively reincarnated from the Indian epic. L. V. Shenvi's "Temple-Nasik" (242) is a colourful picture of tints pilgrims and temples in bright raising the religious atmosphere from the solemn to the gay. Delightful also are the renderings in "Symphony" (243) by Shirgaonkar B.D. (Bombay) and in "Madak Chandra" by Shroff Mukundrai N, (Ahmedabad). Srvivaslu A. (Madras) uses inky lines by way of reinforcing his forms in "Busy Hour" (250) with striking results. Suryaprakash, C.H. (Hyderabad) uses the impasto technique in "Sun Comes to my Land" (253) with very good results. "Enmity" (262) By Vala Kishor (Rajkot) represents two horses in blue and grey engaged in a fierce encounter. The undulations of the body and the whirling manes well reflect the passion and provide the artist with opportunity for the creation of new rhythms.

Not even the best among the exhibits could be mentioned on account of the restriction of space. We shall put down without any order some titles with the names of their authors by way of indicating what among others pleased us most: "Fila" (91) by Holar Ganesh; "Orchids in the Spring Breeze" (113) by Kalyani Maitra; "After the Crucifixion" (130) by Annanda Munshi; "Christ" by T. Balakishnan; "Beggars" by Rao V. Madhusudan (180); "Violinist (186) by Ray Ajit Keshary (Orissa); "Sisters" by Reddy P. T. (Hyderabad) "Voice" by Anita Roychowdhury (209); "Deepak-Song of flames" (212) by Arundhuti Roychowdhury; "Portrait" by Satwalekar, M.S. (Bombay) (225); and "Scrap of Society" (227) by Jibendra Kumar Sen.

Both in the Graphic Section and in the Section on Indian Art there are several items of great interest. Suren De has won the Academy's Award for the best work in Sculpture with his "Mother and Child" (16). Some five pieces produced by Santiniketan sculptors have rough jagged surfaces, and a semi-abstract trend. They are interesting works in cement whose real value cannot be studied in a hurry. "Snake Dance" (164) represents a type of dance which Phanibhusan has rendered with great skill in smooth, polished wood. "Wood nymphy" by Subhas Roy (208) is an excellent specimen of modern sculpture.

The exhibition has many things to please the eye and stimulate the mind and imagination by its rich variety, its quest for new forms and its record of considerable achievement.

(*Amrita Bazar Patrika*, dt. 19-12-64)

NEW YORK FAIR: A CAPSULE WORLD TOUR 1956

An account: The Indian Pavilion at World's Fair in New York 1964 appeared in the *Bulletin*, 1964, II, pp. 299-301 (ed.).

The New York's World Fair opened at New York for the second year on 22nd April 1965. Its tentative closing date is 14th November 1965. From priceless works of art to tribal African dancers, the world's sights and sounds are recreated here. Many millions of fair-goers are expected to visit the international area and take advantage of the capsule world tour offered by what is considered the greatest cultural presentation of its kind ever assembled in one place. Ancient works of art never before seen outside of India are featured at its pavilion. Skilled artisans have

flown in from India to demonstrate traditional craftsmanship dating back to thousands of years. Documentary films on the "changing face of India" are also shown in the striking pavilion, which is screened by cascades of water falling into a lotus pool. Nightly shows of classical and folk dancing and bi-weekly fashion shows are held in the pavilion restaurant, where Indian foods are served under a replica of an ancient temple ceiling. More than 28 million people visited the fair last year, and new attractions are expected to draw even more this season. These include a model of an ancient Mayan city, a replica of one of Japan's most famous shrines, a Papal crown and historic American documents. Countries of North Africa, the Middle East and South Asia are well represented among the 37 foreign pavilions, and they have made a number of additions since last year.

The pavilion of Morocco captures the atmosphere of North Africa with a building of traditional Moorish design, including arches and an open patio. Inside, expert craftsmen wearing African dress ply their skills in a bazaar, weaving and knotting rugs, tooling leather goods and producing samples of unusual brassware. In the courtyard a Moroccan village is reproduced where children can ride donkeys, view caged animals, folk dancing, snake charmers and acrobats.

The Moroccan pavilion also features a sidewalk cafe and cafeteria which offer Moroccan specialities at a moderate price. A beautifully decorated night club presents musicians and exotic dancers.

Sudan's pavilion again highlights the thousand-year old fresco of the Madonna, painted on limestone and preserved in all its vivid colour. Also displayed are relics of a great Nubian civilisation which flourished 4000 years ago, artifacts of the country's jungle tribes and desert nomads and contemporary industrial products and handicrafts. Sudanese food delicacies are offered at the Nile Terrace Restaurant.

Three towering arches form the gateway to the United Arab Republic pavilion where exhibits blend the ancient part with present progress. One exhibit depicts the international rescue of the Abu Simbel temples while a scale model of the Aswam Dam explains how this huge irrigation and electrification project will turn two million acres into fertile farm land. The pavilion's tourist

centre displays objects of art dating back to the Pharaohs and large photomurals of Egyption attractions. A bazaar sells hand-crafted items from Cairo's famed Khan el Khalily. There is also a snack bar and patio lounge.

Jordan's pavilion is a multi-domed structure covered with gold mosaic and sparkling blue glass. Exhibits include fragments of the Dead Sea Scrolls and a scale model of the dome of *the* Rock of Jerusalem where, according to Moslem belief, Mohamed prayed before ascending to heaven. The pavilion also includes a column from the Roman-built city of Jerash and an abstract expression in stained glass of the Stations of the Cross, reflecting the diverse cultures and religions that arose in the region of ancient Palestine.

Emphasis of Pakistan's pavilion is the "progressive present", with displays of paintings by contemporary Pakistani artists and the products of small industry.

Each of the fair's many pavilions is designed to help achieve its theme—"Peace Through Understanding". Each has something unique to offer, be it priceless antiques, products, songs, dances, food or ideas.

Mahatma Gandhi and Jawaharlal Nehru are among the leaders whose contributions to the past quarter century will be recorded for posterity in a time capsule to be buried at the New York World's Fair. Other world figures chosen by a selection committee include Franklin D. Roosevelt, Harry S. Trumann, Dwight D. Eisenhover, Winston Churchill and Dag Hammarskjoeld.

Literature on their influence during the last quarter century will be placed, together with millions of words of documentation and thousands of photographs describing the events of this period, in a time capsule to be buried October 16. This capsule updates an earlier one interred at the start of the 1939-1940 New York World's Fair. Both capsules are to be opened in the year 6939-50 centuries from now.

There can be no quarrel with fair president Robert Mose's statement: "This is not a spectacular to be enjoyed in a day, but a global university to be studied and savoured, pavilion by pavilion".

(*News Bulletin,* USIS, Madras-2).

A GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC EXHIBITION OF ART, BOMBAY, 1965

An art exhibition of small sculptures and sketches from the German Democratic Republic opened at the Bhulabhai Memorial Institute in Bombay last week, in presence of Mr. H. Sachse, regional trade representative of the GDR, Mr. H. Kawretzke, assistant regional trade representative and many distinguished guests and art lovers, obviously indicates a new mental attitude that people have got rid of prejudice and obsolete ideas.

Owing to the existence of two States with different political and social structures, divergent developments have taken place in Germany after World War II. During the first years following the foundation of the GDR, monuments were erected to honour the victims of the War. They were mainly built on the sites of former concentration camps where millions of people perished.

Tracing Origin

Sculptors in the GDR do not abnegate the emotional appeal and the didactic values inherent in art. Their works are meant to inspire meditation, to give aesthetic pleasure and to infuse moral strength into an individual. Those who wished to associate themselves with the changed social pattern have looked for a new approach to the problems it was confronted with. They have studied the tastes and mentality of the people to find out what was expected of a work of art.

While experiencing and watching the incessant changes on the national scene, both political and economic, the artists too, have developed and changed their outlook. They are called upon to trace the origin of such changes in the faces of people and record them and even help promote them.

The history of German sculpture is much younger than that of India. Monumental images have been carved or cast for the last thousand years. Originally sculpture was inseparably linked with the interior decoration of churches and places of worship. It was modelled after the artistic concept of ancient Greece as handed down through Byzantine, French and Italian influences.

Patrons of Art

But throughout the centuries, there has also been a strong popular trend in the carver's art manifested in coins, table and

household utensils and figurative ornaments. Formerly, only a small exclusively rich aristocracy commissioned works of art, but now, a vast majority of working people have become patrons of art and ask artists to decorate their community halls, canteens, residences and schools.

A small sized figure is more suitable for such purposes than a monumental sculpture. A small carving is more apt to give immediate expression to ideas the artist wants to convey. The small dimensions also allow a quick and easy grasp of their proportions. A small sculpture is not only an object of study and experiment, but it could be taken in hand, fondled with feeling fingers to realise and discover its outlines.

Impressive

An outstanding exhibit, A Standing Nude in bronze about 70 centimetres high is the work of Prof. Fritz Cremer, created in 1959. Nearing sixty now, Prof. Cremer has won many national awards. His Nude is a portrayal of a young girl radiating an almost casual charm, which is highly symbolic. Another work, Albert Einstein in bronze about 40 centimetres high, has been done by a young freelance sculptor, Juergen von Woyski in 1963.

Among other exhibits, works of Prof. Walter Arnold are impressive.

(*Mohagan, 'Tide'*, 6-3-65).

2300 YEARS OF JAINA ART

The exhibition of Jain art miniatures, illuminated manuscripts, sculpture, scrolls, temple decorations, books and photographs—organized by the Bharat Jain Mahamandal and housed in all the galleries of the Academy of Fine Arts, Calcutta contained some wonderful objects of great antiquity. Special mention should be made of some magnificent illustrated manuscripts with leaves written with gold and depicting gods and goddesses, different Tīrthankaras, stories of heaven and hell, marriage processions, dreams, mountains, seas and rivers and interpreting a variety of ślokas. The paintings are of the Mewar, Jodhpur, Malwa, Bikner, Mandu, and Jaisalmer schools. There are notable illustrations representing several Western Indian styles, and in a few Rajasthani floral designs, border and jari work one notices Persian influence. Papier-machē and silver bookcovers and those

with jari, lacquer or needle work on red or green silk and with profuse illustrations attract notice. The art of the Jains is directly linked with classical painting. Long before the arrival of Persian masters in Moghul courts these artists developed a highly styllized form of their own, which is often of striking decorative beauty. The long scrolls show how they started with a few colours to evolve a language of illustration that exerts a powerful influence on modern Indian art. Kalpa-Sūtra and the popular story of Salivadra have been handled in more than one series, and some of the symbolic pats, jantras and maps are worthy of special study. The striking simplicity of certain miniatures is to be observed in contrast with the background calligraphy.

Among the sculptures there are black stone and red sandstone images of Tīrthankaras standing with devotees or in meditation, Gujarati wood carvings and bronze figures. The section also includes some interesting Jain images discovered in West Bengal. Most of the exhibits are from famous collections. In the photographic section there is a large number of clumsily displayed prints showing Jain images, general views and details of temples, carvings, pillars, other interior decorations, some of the well known Jain caves, sculpture and musuems containing these.

(*Statesman*, Delhi, dated 13-4-65).

CHILD ART OF 11 COUNTRIES—EXHIBITION AT CALCUTTA, 1965

An international children's art exhibition, sponsored by UNESCO as part of its project for mutual appreciation of East-West cultural values and now being held at Artistry House, Calcutta, by the Indian Council for Cultural Relations, is splendidly designed to show how boys and girls from different cultural backgrounds express themselves in painting and drawing. There are 200 exhibits from children of 11 countries and of two age groups, 10 to 14 and 14 to 17.

Each group was asked to illustrate a story specially devised by the UNESCO Institute of Education. There were more than 2,000 entries by 70 schools of the participating countries. The exhibits on view were selected out of these, the guiding principles being the choice and depiction of motifs, media of expression, the international language of child art and individual treatment of

various subjects and techniques. More interesting than the stories are the choice of scenes, designs and other pictorial elements. Side by side with realistic drawings there are admirably painted imaginary landscapes and fantasies. There is a tendency simultaneously to present different sections of an episode. The influence of modern art and cartoons and comic strips on children is worthy of special study.

The organizers have also analysed children's preference for colours as a means of spontaneous expression, their instinctive reaction to things as well as keen observation, decorative use of form and free treatment of space. They have also examined the part played by a child's national culture and folklore in his artistic development. The pictures have been broadly classified as brush-work, cardboard prints, pasted cutouts, charcoal, crayon, pen-and-wash, pen-and-ink and pen-and-airbrush drawings or paintings.

Of particular interest are some exhibits from Japan, Italy, Turkey, West Germany, Poland and Israel. Those who like children in their imaginative manner will also like a few Indian entries.

(*Statesman*, dated 19-3-65).

THE MADRAS STATE LALIT KALA AKADEMI'S THIRD ANNUAL EXHIBITION OF PAINTINGS, SCULPTURES, AND CRAFTS, 1965

The exhibition held at the Goverment College of Arts and Crafts, Madras presented a many sided complex part of modern artists in India. The decisive evidence of modern spirit was vividly apparent in all the paintings exhibited. The freshness with which the artists handled their subjects and the material reality of their themes scaled the hundred years of modern art through Europe into India. Although many artists have not arrived at a set medium of expression in their paintings like style, method, and artistic taste, still the stress is more on the individual spirit than technical or stylistic importance. Many of them have a long way to go. K. C. S. Panicker's "Words and Symbols" awakened a contemplative awareness, deeply Indian, but Internationally significant. Delienated images interspersed by few patches of horoscopic writings and mathematical symbols, tempered with the mesmeric effect of "Raw Umber" moved one to the

"Remote" and "Timeless". Gautam Vaghela's three works in tempera with the keynote of Indian miniatures, capturing something of the lyrical spirit that is typically Indian, yet significant in the context of contemporary world art had coherence and clarity, like an articulated pictoral architecture. Heroic themes and religious anecdotes made much of an appeal in three of Alphonso's. Ramanujam enjoyed the privilege to take one far into the realm of fantasy and dream, like the title and theme of his paintings "My Dream World". The romantic spirit and the conception of form and colour gave us a bizarre sensation asserting the importance of its uniqueness in its more intangible and mysterious aspects. Redappa Naidu's "Deities" in luminous colours and nervy precise lines, with an ambience of brilliant light were surcharged with a religious tempo, often associated in the traditional Indian carvings. The works of the other up and coming artists, still in their studentship showed a critical and reforming spirit, and a growing sentiment of freedom in their advanced style of modern painting with more voluptuous colour and mastery of large design, with a brilliance both primitive and individualistic in form and concept. The works of Adimoolam, Vasudev, Rani Pooviah, Bhaskaran, Paramasivam, Krishnamoorthy were among the most fascinating and original pieces among those exhibited.

(*Mail,* dated 17-3-65).

SECTION VI: ARTS AND CRAFTS

ARTS AND CRAFTS IN THE PANJAB (W. PAKISTAN)

The region has made an excellent contribution to the wealth of arts and crafts of the country for some centuries, but during the last fifty years the hand industries of this region greatly decreased in number and importance owing to many having completely succumbed to competition or change of fashion:

Those industries that are practically dead are:

Gunsmiths and Damascene workers.

Woollen cloth weavers.

Pinjra workers and carvers in wood.

Wood turners and *lac* workers.

Decorators and mural painters.

Kanshi workers.

Glass bangle makers.

In place of these dead crafts there are a few trades that have been introduced or have increased followers: they are

Cotton manufactures.

Wool textiles.

Metal work.

Cutlery, surgical instruments and nickel plating.

Wood work and furniture.

Inlaid work.

Bookbinding.

Pottery.

Jewellery.

Embroidery.

Leather manufactures.

Seal engraving.

It is instructive to compare the two lists, which are a comment upon the trend of modern requirements.

1. Cotton Manufactures

All cotton fabrics are made in one or other of four styles:

1st. These are plain cloths, either woven with a single thread or with two or three or four threads, according to the required stoutness of the fabric, from the thinnest "eksuti" to the thickest "*durree*", for all these the web is unicolorous.

2nd. Are cloths with a longitudinal stripe, of which the type is the *susi;* or with a check pattern as the "*lungi*"; the web here has coloured thread introduced at intervals for the stripe.

3rd. Are cloths with various diagonal patterns, such as the "*khes*" and are woven on a different principle and are called "*kheshafi*".

4th. Are these fabrics which are not woven merely by passing the shuttle across and across in a straight line, but which exhibit in their texture a damask or pattern, generally in diamond shapes, and fantastically called "*Bulbul chashm*" or "Nightninale's eye". This is commonly seen in the "*ghati*" and in the "*chadar*" worn as wrappers or cloths.

Notwithstanding the simplicity of the cotton manufacture, the varieties of the cloth are numerous, as the following list of names of cloths met with in the region will testify.

(i) *Lungi*

The first class of cotton fabrics to be noticed to the "*lungi*". This is a long scarf. They are made everywhere, but especially in the Lahore division where they are woven of exquisite fineness, and with most beautiful borders, in which coloured silk is often tastefully introduced. The *lungi* is universally worn by the inhabitant of the Derajat divisions.

(ii) *Khes*

This fabric is generally woven in pieces, which are sown together to make a square "*chadar*" or upper wrapper, worn by all classes that can afford it. The fabric is remarkable chiefly as exhibiting a different kind of weaving to the others. The local acknowledge three kinds of weaving: "*Safa bafi*", commencing when the pattern is all in lines or checks, run either straight down or straight across the webs. "*Khes bafi*", where the pattern may be either plain or check, but the thread of the

weft entwined alternately with those of the wrap that the make of the fabric appears to be diagonal or cornerwise across the fabric, instead of the threads crossing at right angles. The looms for this kind of weaving are more complicated than the other, having a greater number of treadles, and the shuttle being differently employed. The third kind or "*Bulbul chashm bafi*" is where the fabric is damasked with a pattern of diamond shapes produced by interweaving the threads of warp and weft. The *khes bafi* includes twa kinds of coverlets called "*dotahi and chautahi*", white sheets with a red or dark blue edging. Sometimes however the *chautahis* are made with a silk edging.

(iii) *Susi*

This is a narrow cotton fabric, universally useful for making *pyjamas* or trowsers, especially the large loose garments worn by female. The fabric is also occasionally worn round the waist. It is distinguished by having stripes lengthwise down the piece, of a different colour from the ground work;—dark blue with white stripe, blue and red stripe, green and white stripe, are the patterns most commonly seen, but other varieties are made. This fabric is plain woven or made by *Dada bafi.*

(iv) *Dosuti, Garha, Gazi* and other plain cloths

These are a series of coarse woven cloths differing in thickness, according as single, double, or treble thread is employed in weaving them; the coarsest and loosest textured is "*Gazzi*", then comes "*Garha*", and *eksuti*, and then *dosuti*, and the thicker sorts, *tinsuti, chausuti*, etc.

(v) *Cotton carpets*

These are in universal use in Indo-Pakistan sub-continent. They are variously called "*dari*" or "*Shatranji*" according to the size: *shatranji* being a large carpet, and *dari* a narrow piece just big enough for a bed to stand on. In pattern they are usually striped with bands of several colours, arranged according to taste; but a clever workman can produce various patterns in a *dari*, such as squares, diamond shapes etc., provided only that the figures of the pattern be not too complicated, and are made up wholly of straight lines.

2. Wool Textiles

(i) *Carpets*

Carpets are called "*Kalin*" and "*Kalicha*". The method of manufacturing the "*Kalin*" or pile carpet is characterized by that

simplicity which is observable in all local loom work. The foundation for the carpet is a warp of the requisite number of strong cotton threads according to the breadth of the carpet. The warp is however not placed flat on the ground, but is worked erect, being attached at either end to two rollers, which are supported between the extremities of two upright posts, the lower roller is below the surface of the ground in a pit or trench dug out for the purpose, the threads of the warp are passed over this, and reach the upper roller, and as the carpet gets done, the finished work is wound on to the lower roller, and more web is unwound from the upper one. The workmen sit in front of the warp on the ground with their feet in the trench or pit above alluded to. The process of weaving consists in dexterously twisting short lengths of coloured wool into each of the threads of the warp in a straight line, so that the two ends of the wool stick out in front. When a whole line is completed the (colours chosen being of course regulated by the pattern) the projecting ends of wool are clipped to a uniform length, and a single thread of wool is run across the breadth of the carpet, between the threads of the warp, just as in ordinary weaving, and the threads of the warp are crossed as usual: then another row of ends of wool is put in the same manner, another line of wool passed between the thread of the warp to keep the woollen tags in their places, and so on. The lines of work atre compacted together by striking them with a blunt fork or "*kanghi*". Line after line is thus completed, the workmen putting in the proper colours, either by their own knowledge if they are very skilful, or at the word of command of one who 'reads out' the pattern. When the whole is completed, the surface is clipped or sheared all over, to reduce the pile to a uniform length and smoothness and the carpet is complete.

(ii) *Blanket, "Kambal" or "Galim"*

They are generally made either of the natural brownish black colour of the wool, or else in a check pattern, sometimes but rarely they are white.

3. Metal Work

Metal vessels in a Panjab household supply the joint place of porcelain, glass, and silver plate. Muslims generally use copper vessels, except in the case of small drinking cups etc. There is hardly any one so poor but he has not some brass pots, if no

more than the *lota* in which he boils his porridge, drinks his water, and holds water to wash in. The wealthier a man is the better off is his house as regards his vessels. In the kitchen of a big house, the array of brass vessels, cooking pots and water holders, all scoured bright with earth every day or oftener, is quite formidable. The gentry use silver drinking cups and some other articles of silver, but the staple article is brass or copper. The glass and crockery are coming more and more into use, but the poorer classes still hold on to metal-wares.

The common articles of daily use, knives, scissors, tweezers, horse bits, stirrup irons, and such like, when of local manufacture and pattern are generally rough; but the practice of making articles with something approaching to European finish and in European style, has taken root in the Sialkot district and at Wazirabad and other places in the Gujranwala district, as also in Gujrat.

Plated ware

The most important locality in the production of plated ware in this region is unquestionably Lahore. Some few years earlier there were in vogue some exceptionally intricate forms, but now these have got into disfavour. The ordinary purchaser likes a few bold designs, which can be done in half the time required for more intricate patterns.

Engraved Copper ware

Some of the most beautiful and interesting copper wares of the region are those required for ornamental purposes and decoration. Lahore enjoys the reputation of producing these copper wares. These may be described as manifesting an elaborate form of low repousse carried over the surface. Pierced ornamentation is also occasionally employed.

4. Wood Work

The Punjabi carpenter is naturally one of the cleverest in the world if he cares to exercise his talents. When wood carving was generally in demand, construction work was nearly always poor: now that plain work is the vogue, much greater accuracy of fit and finish is practised. There are still a few clever carvers in Chiniot and Lahore. The prosperity of the bazaar carpenter has steadily increased with his better work. Besides these there are now many large firms turning out furniture, but in most cases the

design is commonplace in the extreme, the readily obtainable European catalogues of cheap furniture forming a trap to catch the eager seeker after novelties. Owing to the increased cost of living and consequently largely increased rates of wages, all decorated work, whether *pinjra* or carving, has ceased to be practised in the region generally and attention is focussed on producing articles of utility.

Carved and Inlaid work

The number of people who are skilled in wood-carving is considerable. The form of articles produced by them is good and beautiful; but it is in surface design that they seem to excel.

Chiniot is celebrated for its carved ware. Several carpenters may be seen in bazar at work. The patterns are supplied to them, and the imitation is excellent. The wood most used is *shisham.*

Lacquer Work

There are two prominent kinds of work which deserve separate mention: one is the *Kar-i-Kharad* or turned and lacquered ware, known by the name of Pakpatan work; the other, the turned work of Dera Ismail Khan.

The *Kharad* work consists of turned wood boxes, cups and toys, the outer face of which is prettily coloured with a coating of mottled lacquer.

The best work in the Panjab is done in the Montgomery district at a place called Pakpatan; but the art is by no means confined to this place.

The lacquered work has a fine polish and generally a marbled or mottled appearance, often in two or three colours, and the article finished with a flowered border, which latter is done by a species of handiwork different from the rest, and certainly affording a good instance of the delicacy of handling.

5. Porcelain and Pottery

It does not appear that the people of the Panjab ever practised generally the art of glazing pottery for domestic use. A few samples here and there indicate the existence of the art in a crude form, and the greatest progress has been made in the manufactories attached to the larger jails, where special efforts have been made to improve the colour, and the nature of the glaze. But the art of glazing and using encaustic colours has existed from an early date, and has, strange to say, in the form in which it was

practised with success, almost entirely perished. The form I allude to, is that of the glazed encaustic tiles, or glazed flower work composed of inlaid pieces of encaustic work, used to ornament mosques, tombs, and public buildings.

The Wazir Khan Masjid in the City of Lahore, built A.H., 1044, 1643 A.D. in the reign of Shahjahan, is covered all over with encaustic work. The Shalimar gardens have various buildings similarly ornamented: these latter have the patterns inlaid like mosaic work, each piece being separately coloured and glazed, and afterwards, fitted together with cement.

The whole vicinity of Lahore abounds with ruins ornamented with glazed work; so in the Districts of Multan and Muzaffargarh are numerous tombs, some of them of great age, ornamented with glazed tiles. The Shams e Tabriz, in the Multan Fort, is a notable example.

This art is not actually and entirely lost. Specimens of the modern glazed tiles and other articles are still executed at Multan, and other places. Glazed pottery is made at a few places like Gujrat, Gujranwala and Sialkot. The work, though not equal to European, is remarkably good. The art was introduced by local people.

Unglazed Pottery

The only distinctive kinds of unglazed pottery in the Panjab are:

1. Ordinary clay pottery, either red or black when baked, made in all districts, in some better than others.
2. The fine pottery work of Bahawalpur.
3. The pale yellow and grey clay ware of the Derajat; the texture is gritty and very porous, hence the *surahis* or water-coolers, are very excellent.

Under the first head, however, there is a considerable variety. In some districts there are skilful potters, who make bowls of pottery clay almost as thin as stout paper; they being porous, if filled with water, soon render it extremely cool owing to the rapid and easy evaporation. Such bowls are made in the Gujranwala and Gujrat districts. In Bahawalpur and Leiah thin pottery vases are made,—one vase within the other, and the outer layer perforated to show a pattern.

In some places the pottery is ornamented with an amalgam of mercury in patterns. Rawalpindi produces some thin earthen

vases, first silvered, and then covered with a coating of transparent lac colouring over the silver.

6. Leather Work

Three classes of leather are to be met with in the Panjab; one the country leather, bulls, 'calves', buffalos' hide, goat skins, and occasionally camels hide, with some few others of local manufacture. The other includes leathers from Kabul and Peshawar. The third consists of European imported leathers and tannery manufactured leather.

In the first class there is little to notice in a manufacturing point of view. The greater part of the leather produced is thick and hard, but of strength inferior to the machine made leather. The process of tanning is uniformly rude and troublesome, though the results are occasionally satisfactory as regards softness of the hide. The slow process by which the skins are allowed to soak for days together, only to receive another soaking when the first is done, is the best calculated to produce a pliant and supple leather, and is quite suited to the slow, patient, and sedentary habits of the local workmen.

Bullocks' hides yield the strong leather used for shoes and general use; buffalo hide, the thickest of all, where great strength is required; goat skins furnish thin leather, and camel hide is rarely and locally used.

The process of tanning consists in soaking the skins in lime water for some days to loosen the hair and surface of the skin, the hide is then scraped, and, after washing, is sewn up in the form of a sack, the interior being filled with the bark of the *kikar* (*Acacia arabica*); water is frequently poured over it, the skin bag is then reversed in position, and the watering repeated. The length or duration of each stage in the process varies according to the nature and thickness of the skin to be tanned.

The finishing process consists in taking the skin when still just damp and spreading it on the ground, it is then rubbed over with a wooden block or mallet furnished with a handle, it is rubbed on both sides.

Saddles are manufactured with local crude leather. The saddle (*Zin or Kathi*) is made of wood covered with leather or cloth, or velvet, and padded: it is very high both behind and in front, so that it is almost impossible to fall off. Under the saddle a *namda* or felt is placed to protect the horse's back from rub-

bing. Poorer people use a fold of blankets etc., middle class people the felt; and nobles and rich people a *charjama* or saddle-cloth of velvet richly embroidered and padded with felt. Sometimes the saddle is ornamented by a number of huge silk tassels which hang down on either side of the horse, both in front of the saddle and behind, being attached thereto by leather straps; these are only worn on gala days.

Shoes is another article made of local leather. Nothing so well indicates the strange diversity of tribes in the Panjab territories, as the curious variety of shoes worn. Thus we have shoes suited for the snows and mountain paths of Murree and Gilgit, broad strong shoes for the frontier warlike tribes strangely sewn with silk embroidery; we have the green slippers with high iron shoe heels worn at Peshawar; delicate little gold worked shoes for the ladies of the Chach Doab; gorgeous brocade shoes from the Lahore bazars; classical Greek buskins from Bannu; descending at last to the imported patent leather boot.

Common shoes of bullocks' hide of various qualiities are made everywhere; the commonest kind are worn by poor people; for the middle class a little ornament is introduced—an edging of red leather, and so forth. The wealthier classes wear shoes of fine leather embroidered or stitched with gold. Some tracts of country are specially celebrated for shoes-Kasur, Lahore and Derajat.

7. Jewellery

It is hardly necessary to say that jewellery is as much worn by men as women, but the kinds of jewellery worn by each are distinct in form and name.

It is very curious to remark what an immense number of names for different kinds of ornaments the people recognize. In European language they call every kind of ornament for the arm a bracelet; they hardly adopt any distinctive terms for varieties of necklaces; but a Panjabi has at least half a dozen names for different patterns of these articles.

The country people, and indeed the poor and middle classes, wear mostly silver ornaments; those better off have the same in gold. It is the very wealthy who wear richly jewelled ornaments.

Silver ornaments are almost the sole form of wealth among the villagers. If a man has a few rupees to save he makes a

great *hass* or necklace, and gives it to his wife to keep; or he makes a lot of *karas* (armlets) and so the money is converted.

The gold and silver ornament makers are by far the most numerous; they are called technically *sadakar*—a "plain metal" worker. The people who can cut, polish, and set gems, are few and far between.

General list of jewels

A list of all the jewellery worn in the Panjab generally, and excluding local peculiarities, shows the following copious vocabulary:

i. *Head Ornaments*

1. *Chaunk,*—A round boss worn on the hair over the forehead. It resembles a gold flower.
2. *Mauli*—A long chain made of rows of pearls separated by jewelled studs, about 8 inches long hanging from the head on one side.
3. *Damni,* or *dauni*—A fringe hanging over the forehead on either side of the face. Some of these are richly jewelled.
4. *Tika* or *Kashka*—Small ornament on the forehead pendant.
5. *Tawit*—Small amulets worn on the head.
6. *Jhumar*—A tassel-shaped ornament or pendant.
7. *Murki*—Smaller ear-rings.
8. *Zanjiri*—A chain.
9. *Birbali*—A broad ear-ring with 3 studs.
10. *Bali* or *goshwara*—A set of rings worn all round the edge of the ear.
11. *Karnphul, dhedu,* and *jhumka*—All forms of tassel-like ornaments made with silver chains and little balls, fringe of silver chain work etc., etc.
12. *Phumni*—Silk and tinsel tassels.
13. *Machh Machlian*—A small, gold figure of a fish worn as an ear ring.
14. *Nath*—A large nose ring, one side of the ring being ornamented with a belt of jewels or a few pearls, and gold spangle ornaments etc. hung on to it.
15. *Bulak*—A small pendant either worn hung to the cartilage of the nose, or else strung on to a *nath*.

16. *Latkan*—A sort of ornament of pendants put on to the thin gold ring called a nath, and hanging from it.
17. *Morni*—A small pendant for the above, shaped like the spread out tail of a peacock.
18. *Laung*—A small 'stud' let into the flesh of the nostril on one side, generally of gold, with a pearl or turquois on it.
19. *Phuli*—A small ring with a single emerald, or other stone of an oval shape, as a pendant.
20. *Rekhan,* made of gold and worn on the teeth;—a stud of gold or silver fixed into the front teeth.

ii. *Necklaces and Neck ornaments*

21. *Mala*—A necklace of large beads hanging down long and loose.
22. *Manth-kanthi,* (worn by women also). This fits rather close to the neck—the pendant may be omitted.
23. *Nam*—An amulet, round or star-shaped, suspended from a twist of colored silk thread fastened round the neck by tying at the back (see "jugni" below).
24. *Tawiz*—A square amulet, jewelled, or otherwise.
25. *Takhti*—A flat square plate engraved with figures, etc.
26. *Hainkal*—A chain of twisted silk, from which depend, by little golden loops, various coins, amulets, etc., all round.
27. *Chandarmah*—A large gold flat medal suspended by a single ring on silk chain or cord.
28. *Chandanhar*—A collar or necklace of a great number of chains.
29. *Champakali*—A necklace like a collar with pendants.
30. *Jugni*—A single jewelled pendant, hanging from a necklace of silk like the 'Nam', only more elongated in shape.
31. *Naul dil*—A sort of amulet of jade; not square as a *tawiz* always is, but cut in curves round the edge.
32. *Hassi,* or *hass,* like a torquea—A ring or collar of silver, thick in the middle, and thin at either end.
33. *Guluband*—A jewelled collar.
34. *Atradan*—A square jewelled (or plain gold) pendant, attached to a silk chain, at the back is a small box like our vinaigrette to contain 'atr' or perfume.

iii. *Arm ornaments*

35. *Bazuband*—A broad belt-like ornament, generally mounted on silk tied on the upper arm.

36. *Nau ratn,* is the same, the ornament consisting of a band of nine gems set side by side, and tied by silk ties.

37. *Ponchi,* worn on the wrist—A series of strings of shells or small gold elongated heads.

38. *Kangan or kara or gokru*—A bracelet of stiff metal, worn bent round the arm; when the edges are serrated it is called *gokru.*

39. *Bank*—A thick gold bracelet.

40. *Gajra*—A flexible bracelet made of square gold studs mounted on a silk band.

41. *Ghuris*—They are generally made of a flat ribbon of gold or silver, bent round.

42. *Bain,* or long silver sleeve or tube worn on both arms, like a lot of *churis* fastened together.

43. *Band*—An armlet, broad and heavy.

44. *Jhankangan*—Small hollow *'karas'* with grains introduced into the hollow to rattle.

iv. *Finger rings*

45. *Angushtri*—A ring set with stones called also *mundri* or *anguthi.*

46. *Challa*—Large *challas* are worn on the toe also. The *challa* is a quite plain hoop or whole *hoop* ring (with or without stones) being gold or silver, but the same all round.

47. *Angusthana, angutha*—A big ring with a broad face, worn on the great toe.

48. *Khari panjangla*—A set of finger rings of ordinary shape.

49. *Pazeb*—Various angle ornaments made with chains and pendants of silver, which clink together when the wearer walks.

50. *Jhanjar*—A large hollow ring, which rattles when the wearer walks.

The enormous variety of names cannot fail to strike any one; every little change in the pattern or size of an ornament seems to secure it a different name. The general form of each kind of jewel is always maintained, but of course the details of ornamentation vary immensely. The design for them is drawn out by the head jeweller himself, and he gives the drawing to workmen. All the finer specimens of jewelled ornaments are beautifully enamelled on the back, (unless the stones are clear set). The gold and silver work, is done by the *sunnar* or goldsmith.

If the ornament has then to be ornamented with bossed patterns etc. it goes to the *chatera,* embosser and chaser.

If the jewels are to be set, the enamelling at the back is done by a *minakar,* and then the stone is set into the places prepared by the goldsmith etc. by the *murassiakar* or *kundansaz*, whose sole work consists in putting some lac into the receptacle or hollow in the gold prepared to receive the stone, putting in a tinsel or foil prepared by the *bindligar,* and then pressing in the stone, putting on a gold rim to keep it in place.

8. Embroidery

Two branches of art are involved in the manufacture of goods of this class. For in the first place, the gold and silver has to be prepared in the form of tinsel, spangles, ribbon thread, etc., etc., before the embroiderers can use it, and next there is the art of embroidering itself.

The bulk of gold embroidery is done with *kalabatun,* or the common gold thread—a body of silk over-wound with a thin flattened wire of gold or silver, as the case may be. Gold is wound on orange coloured or red silk; silver on white. The former is called *kalabatun surkh;* the other *kalabatun e safed.*

There are two principal kinds of gold embroider; one of a solid and rich kind called *kar-chob,* the other an ordinary and cheap kind of work, being merely a gold thread described as *tilakar* or *kar-chikan.*

Gold and silver embroidery of the kind called *kar-chob* is principally employed for large and handsome articles, such as cushions of state, saddle cloths, *masnads,* or carpets spread out before the guests on formal occasions.

The second kind of embroidery is principally employed in articles of dress, in ornamented caps, and in edgings to garments.

At Lahore, a variety of other articles of dress are made up, figured with gold and with embroidered borders—ladies' scarves, *dopattas*, shawls, and various other articles, especially of local female attire. Such glittering raiments figure greatly at marriages and other ceremonials.

A number of very elegant articles are prepared on a foundation of net or fine muslin, the material being merely worked over with springs of flowers here and there. Such fabrics are called *butidar*, and are finished off with a bordering, in which not only embroidery takes its place, but fringes, spangles, and pieces of tinsel polished and sewn on to produce the effect of jewels, are introduced. Such articles are very brilliant, and pleasing to the eyes.

The embroidery of a heavy and rich character is worked upon velvet of cloth, for the purposes of saddle cloths, *masnads* etc., and is termed *Karahob*, because the velvet or other material to be worked on is, in the first instance, stretched smooth and tight on a wooden frame—(*chob*). The frame consists of two stout side pieces, the ends of which are perforated; into the holes are inserted the pieces that form the remaining bars of the frame, these are moveable, and held in their places by wooden pegs, and by placing the pegs in one or other of a series of small holes in the bars the frame can be enlarged and contracted at pleasure. To the edges of the cloth on which the embroidery is to be done four flaps of stout cloth are next sewn, and the flaps are tightly lashed by string to the bars of the frame, and stretched till the whole is tight. The pattern is in the first place lightly printed or stamped on the material with a wooden carved block, as in calico printing, or else is drawn out with the hand by a brush charged with yellow paint made of *hartal* or orpiment and the workmen comence by working over the pattern in long stitches of yellow silk or thread, to give it body and make it stand out in relief; over this the gold thread is laid down with a fine needle charged with either orange or white silk, according as the work is in gold or silver.

Where a continuous surface of gold is required, the gold thread is laid on in consecutive rows, generally in a herring bone pattern; and the foundation or cloth being already worked, as

above described, with a substratum of yellow thread or silk, it is soft and impressible, and thus the result is that the pattern appears quilted on. Variety is obtained by quilting some parts in higher relief than the rest; and also by changing the direction of the threads.

One of the commonest of embroidery is that done on *pashmina* cloth, usually in silk of the same color. This is principally used in making large scarves for women.

This is in fact a kind of braiding done with silk thread, and in a peculiar stitch. It looks rich and handsome, as the work, owing to the thickness of the silk, stands in slight relief on the ground material.

9. Camel Skin Ornamental Ware

A large number of articles of ornamental value are being manufactured at Multan, with Camel-skin, which is dexterously painted with floral designs. Vases and table-lamps are the most popular articles of manufacture of this craft.

10. Straw Work

Light and decorated straw baskets are being manufactured at Gujrat and Dera Ghazi Khan. These are the articles of daily use in villages and are mostly employed as containers.

11. Ivory Carving

The places where ivory carving is done are numerous, but only respectable work comes from Multan and Lahore.

The ivory with which these carvings are executed is obtained from tusks of wild elephants. The tradition says that the tusks of domesticated elephants yield only a brittle and inferior ivory, liable to crack on exposure to air.

The manufacture is dependent on the skill and patience of the workmen, the carving is wholly done by the aid of the rudest files, chisels, knives, and steel styles. The workman often holds the bit of ivory firmly between his toes as he sits on the ground, and carves it with his hand.

One of the commonest form of work in ivory, is the manufacture of colored ivory bracelets, slender rings, worn by women on the arm in dozens. The bracelet maker is called *Churigar*.

The articles manufactured in this Class are more ornamental in their character, than useful. They include boxes, paper-knives, chassessmen, figures of men and animals, muffineers, combs, bracelets, rings, walking sticks, and dagger handles, and a few miscellaneous articles incapable of classification.

Art

In modern Pakistani painting two names are already classic; that of Abdur Rahman Chughtai, who has founded a new school, and Fyzee Rahamin. Chughtai, still at work with his easel, pen and brush, has revived the delicacy of line and colour and the finer symbolism of Persian and Moghul painters. He has brought the art of painting very close to poetry and music. Even the European influences which moulded his style—those of Aubrey Beardsley and Edmund Dulac have undergone a change; the stiffness of Beardsley's line and the pseudo-Orientalism of Dulac's sweep of colour has given place in sensitive subdued pattern in which line and colour combine to form very delicate image and beautiful but complicated design. Recently Chughtai has written some very interesting essays on the tradition he has followed in art and on its future.

The *Muraqqa e Chughtai,* which illustrated Ghalib's celebrated Diwan was the artistic event of 1928. Since then some of his works have been reproduced in some volumes.

There are some other artists also in the Panjab, who have arranged exhibitions of their paintings from time to time. The names of some of them are Mrs Zakia Malik, Miss Jamila Zafar, Mrs Saeeda Karim, Miss Nasim Anwar, Miss Razzia Feroze, Miss Tahira Allah Jowaya, and Messrs Shakir Ali, S. Ali Imam, Safdar Ali, Anwar Jalal Shemza, Moyene Nagmi and Haneef Ramay.

—*From a Report on Traditional Cultures of the Panjabis in W. Pakistan,* prepared by Dr. Muhammad Baqir, M.A., Ph.D. (Lond.), Professor and Head of the Panjab University (Lahore).

TRIBAL ARTS AND CRAFTS

Poverty in the midst of plenty is the paradox that faces the tribals in India to-day. Poverty as Gandhiji once said, "destroys the beauty of life" and hence any measure which helps fight poverty, obviously, deserves serious consideration by the powers

that be. Development of arts and crafts in tribal areas is one such positive measure in the fight against poverty. In the words of Dhebar Commission, "if the problem of destitution or sub-normal standards of living in tribal areas is to be tackled in an effective manner, it can only be through the development of village and cottage industries in tribal areas." So, development of tribal arts and crafts through active Government patronage and help is a sacred responsibility of those associated with the programme of tribal welfare in India. This is an economic argument *per se*. Apart from this sound economic argument in favour of revitalising tribal arts and crafts from their present moribund state, any positive step in this direction has also an equally strong sociological argument. To be precise, the tribals, being nurtured by nature, have a spontaneous love for nature and this love inculcates in them a love for beauty which, in turn, ingrains in them elements of creative skill and artistic aspirations. Hence, most of the tribals are born artists. Creative imagination is already there in their mind. Artistic skill is their inborn, natural gift. Love for art and craft is, thus, already there in their blood. Naturally, rejuvenation of such a rich cultural heritage is a must if the tribals are "to develop along the lines of their own genius." So both economic and sociological considerations should be there when one talks of reviving tribal arts and crafts. Mere emphasis on one exclusively at the cost of the other will make the approach to the problem of tribal arts and crafts unscientific and myopic.

Let us first consider the significance of research in economics of tribal arts and crafts which is essentially of two types viz. (1) first when working amongst a particular tribe or in a particular tribal area, the C. D. worker must find out the details of the arts and crafts already being practised; (2) secondly, after getting a full and comprehensive picture of existing arts and crafts, it would be the task of the C. D. worker to design an effective programme on the basis of pragmatic findings for the development of a particular art or craft in the area. To put it more succinctly, the C. D. worker must familiarise himself intimately with the existing situation first and then he will draw up an effective and realistic programme. Unfortunately, the achievement of the official agency in the field of such an important survey leaves much to be desired because in a large number of cases, the ignorance of the worker in this regard was found to be shocking. A few amusing examples of such colossal ignorance have been

mentioned in Elwin Committee report so that the authorities and the C.D. workers in particular may take sufficient cue out of them and channelise their efforts in the right direction. Especially the C.D. worker must see to it that his reporting is correct and precise and not ambitious nor distorted nor padded. So far as designing a programme is concerned the C. D. worker must keep in view a few important considerations which are economic in nature viz., availability of raw materials, size of local market, system of communication in the case of export industries, degree of concentration of artisans of a particular art or craft in a locality, competition from cheap machine-made products and proper location of T. C. P. Cs. All these economic considerations must be carefully examined and weighed before launching a programme of developing an art or a craft in a tribal area.

But mere research in economics will not help revival of tribal arts and crafts to the desired extent. Sociological research in their peculiar attitudes to various arts and crafts is necessary because the artist in a tribal group does not care so much for money as for his pursuit of beauty. He is an artist, not in the professional sense of the term, not because he wants to get two square meals a day out of his artistic skill. He is an artist for art's sake. This attitude of the tribal artist needs to be respected. Any step to commercialise such art would be faulty and suicidal. Then, there is the existence of taboos on the practice of various arts and crafts. The influence of such taboos is deep-rooted in the minds of the tribals through generations and any art or craft having strong and sound economic justification for the locality has the leas chance of success, if it is a taboo in that particular area. To illustrate, blacksmithy is a taboo craft with most of the tribals and can be carried on by members of special groups only. Hence, it would be unwise to combine training in blacksmithy and carpentry in tribal areas on the basis of our experience in the plains. What is sauce for the goose may not be sauce for the gander. To quote another illustration from Elwin Committee Report. The Murias and Marias of Madhya Pradesh serving life sentence in the Central Jail of Jagdalpur were taught weaving and in course of time, they became expert weavers, since practice leads to perfection. But after their release, none of them even touched a loom, because weaving is a taboo with them. A little foresight on the part of jail authorities would not only have saved Government money but would also have ensured proper and effective utilisation of human energy.

The upshot of the whole analysis is that any programme for development of tribal arts and crafts must take into account both economic as well as sociological considerations, if the programme is to be spontaneously accepted by the tribals and subsequently self-sustained. To put it more succinctly, the objective of providing gainful employment should be there because our intention is to improve the economic lot of the tribals, but it must not be at the cost of adversely affecting their peculiar beliefs, attitudes, behaviour patterns and taboos, because thereby success will be a far cry.

While designing a programme for development of a particular tribal art and craft after the necessary preliminaries as detailed above have been fulfilled, Dhebar Commission recommends topmost priority to be given to processing industries. For the purpose of chalking out development plans for tribal arts and crafts, Dhebar Commission has very realistically divided them into three categories viz. (a) consumers' goods industries, (b) processing industries and (c) handicrafts and art pieces requiring creative imagination and artistic skill. So far as consumers' goods industries are concerned, Dhebar Commission is not very hopeful about their prospects, because the needs of the tribals are essentially very little and hence the size of the local market will obviously be very small. If, however, Government can participate in bulk purchase of the local products after the local demands are fully met, as is done by NEFA Administration, the consumers' goods industries have also a bright prospect in tribal areas. Dhebar Commission, however, emphasizes development of processing industries and categorically lays down that it should be the avowed policy of Government to see that raw materials do not go out of tribal areas as raw materials as such, but go out as processed articles thereby strengthening tribal economy and providing gainful employment to tribals. The illustration of Andhra Scheduled Tribes Gooperative Finance and Development Corporation gaining tremendous business success by artistic processing of Adda (Palash) leaves as dining plates has been quoted by the Commission in support of this contention. Regarding arts and crafts which have more artistic and cultural than commercial values, the Commission recommends introduction of Pilot Projects for their development with planned endeavour, systematic efforts, adequate financial investment and adequate training facilities. This task of study and research into the economic potentialities

and sociological considerations is, however, stupendous and demands an effective organisation. The Block alone cannot cope up with the magnitude of the task. The efforts of Block agency have got to be supplemented by some bigger organisation. In this respect, the Khadi and Village Industries Commission and the All India Handicrafts Board have a major role to play. These organisations have the background and reputation. They have the personnel and experience. They have got adequate financial resources. So these organisations can be made to come forward and assist in the work of survey and research. The Block agency should work in close liaison with these all India bodies. Unfortunately, much leeway has yet to be made up, because these organisations have not been involved in the task of study and research in a planned and organized manner. Their approach to the problem of tribal arts and crafts is more or less sporadic and superficial. A radical change is, therefore, called for in their approach. Apart from these organisations with all-India character, much improvement can be made in matters of dealing with problems of tribal arts and crafts, if the activities of State Industries Department and Tribal Welfare Department could be coordinated on a more rational basis. As things now are, the relation between these two department in most of the States is too loosely knit to deserve commendation. As a result, instances of wastage, duplication, over lapping and working at cross purposes are not few and far between. The connection between these State Departments and all-India bodies is also very remote. The sooner the situation is changed, the better.

Next to organisation we should consider methods of encouraging tribal arts and crafts, since most of them are dying out because of lack of proper patronage. In this respect, the Block agency can do much by organising melas and exhibitions where a sort of competition may be arranged with provision of rewards for best exhibits. Another means of providing encouragement is to attach willing young artisans with some living exponent of a particular art or craft. This will serve a more useful purpose than the opening of a T. C. P. C. with non-tribal instructional staff. A third means of encouragement is the introduction of sliding scale of wages, as recommended by Renuka Roy Committee, in preference to stipend to the trainee artisans. Another way of encouragement would be the organisation of peripatetic demonstration units for particular arts or crafts manned by experts from

amongst the tribals themselves. This method will benefit a larger number of willing artisans at a lesser cost. Lastly, modifications in forest laws to suit the needs and requirements of the tribals will also give a great fillip to those arts and crafts, raw materials for which come from forest produce. Though the authorities have understood the importance of these measures and though a beginning has been made in the right direction, much still remains to be done and hence there is no scope for complacence. In this connection opening of a few Rural Industries Projects in tribal areas also for comprehensive and concentrated effort at revitalising tribal arts and crafts may be given serious thought. The experience gained by these Projects may help in future programme planning on a more pragmatic and realistic footing.

To sum up, development of tribal arts and crafts has strong economic and sociological justification because that would help amelioration of poverty on the one hand and resuscitate the rich creative and artistic heritage of our tribal brethren. But we must be very cautious in our approach to the problem and 'every effort should be made to ensure that the culture and tradition of the people do not suffer any jolt in the process of introduction of improvement in their style and standard of living. However, tribal arts and crafts would come to their own and along with land and forest play an important part in providing employment and at the same time developing the creative and artistic faculties of the tribals.

(Bibhas Chatterji, in *Kurukshetra*, March, 1965, pp. 15-17).

NAGAS AND THEIR CRAFTS

Nagas have woven their history in their shawls and have carved their achievements and pristine culture in their handicrafts.

Of the predominant colours used in the cloths there are three —black, red and blue. Recently green colour has also come into vogue. But the variation of these colours in the cloth worn by different people also shows their different status in life and indicates their achievements in society. For instance, in eastern Angami area including Khonoma mostly the unmarried man wears a black shawl with a broad red border along each side. A white cotton cloth with a black and red border is worn by men of pro-

minent social status. If the stripe is brown instead of red colour the cloth becomes a common cloth.

Special Shawl

There is a special shawl called *Phishu Pfe* which is worn by the Angami Pishu (priest). The scale of cloth used by the Lhothas is quite rigid. They have distinct designs for the great warriors and men of higher social status. The Aos follow the same principle. *Tsungkotepsu* (decorative warrior shawl) is not worn by anybody else, but a warrior of repute who has achievements to his credit. *Subangsu* can be worn only by the rich and the warrior. *Changs, Konyaks, Semas, Imchungers* all have their distinct pattern and status.

There was little dependence on external markets as particular shawls were by custom meant for a particular class of persons. Of course, occasionally some of the beautiful shawls were presented to the friends who visited Nagaland.

Old taboos are slowly dying out and the desire of the people to reach their brethern outside the state as well as the income which the handloom brought to a common villager have helped to change the attitude of the people.

The availability of cheap yarn has stimulated the weaving industry and introduction of new designs and patterns. Added to this is the more leisure available to the womenfolk now. Earlier, most of them had to travel long distances to bring water to their villages situated on inaccessible high mountains. Now the government has provided piped water to most of the villages. Not only that, the government is also subsidising yarn and encouraging this home industry to turn into an organised one.

Helped by these facilities the Naga craftsmen have started weaving beautiful ties, fine and fancy scarves, attractive table mats, pleasant jackets and sports goods. The lady handbags recently produced by Naga weavers have attracted the notice of the ladies of taste and grace.

Wood Carving

Similarly, wood carving, is deeply associated with the religious beliefs and practices of the Nagas. The figures which are usually found in wood carving include human heads, tigers, elephants etc. Birds also figure in these carvings. The *Morung*

(youth hostel) has also war drums which were made of huge hollow trees. The Ao war drum is a masterpiece of ingenuity and art. It is made of a single log. Primarly it is used as a call-drum; people worship the drum as they do an idol. Normally, the average war drum is 11 metres long and over 4 metres in breadth. The Nagas also use wood for making cups and saucer and all types of untensils. The mug, the spoon, the plates, the glass and so many other things are made either of bamboo or of wood. Here again care is taken to make the utility goods attractive and elegant.

Bamboo is also used in producing various goods of utility and beauty. The smoking pipe with a human figure on it is very common in Konyak and Ao areas. For the decoration of walls bamboo mugs with beautiful designs on its surface are being produced. Bamboo, gourd and animal intestines are used for making musical instruments. Bamboo is a multipurpose material which the Nagas use in several ways; the waterproof baskets and bamboo mats are being made of bamboo. It is a pleasure to watch a Naga weaving a basket with dexterity. Some indigenous materials derived from roots of trees are used to make the basket waterproof.

Blacksmithy

The need for spears, *Daos* and sickles naturally led to the development of blacksmithy in almost all the villages. As the demand for weapons of war and implements of farming went up some of the persons, mostly old, took to blacksmithy which flourishes even now. The Konyak blacksmith uses stone hammer to mould iron.

Pottery

Pottery is a nascent industry; the pot makers do not use improved tools. Very recently good clay has been discovered at Meluri and the people have started making good pots. The Government of Nagaland is sending clay samples gathered from different areas to research laboratories and hopes to develop pottery into a small-scale industry.

New markets would certainly give stimulus to all these industries for further development.

(*Jagriti*, 7-1-1965, p. 9).

SECTION VII: FOLK AND OTHER ARTS

CONTEMPORARY BALLET IN CEYLON

In Ceylon, ballet is like the hard bench. It is a point of contact between the various classes. Ballet, accordingly, is the most vigorous and the most widely appreciated of the art forms which are now sprouting out in a new virility in this country. It speaks in terms which all the people can understand.

The reason is that the mechanics of the ballet—the core of its dance forms—comes from a tradition and a myth which are shared by all classes. It is from a tradition springing from a common religious experience and popular superstitions.

The ballet movement is a sophisticated but recognisable child of the Kandyan dance which is seen in the Buddhist *peraheras* (processions) which parade through the streets of every town and village on full moon days. The other parent of ballet is the *balli* and *thovil* ceremonies. These are the ceremonies of appeasement for evil spirits which have caused diseases. This exorciser's art is worked out by masked performers who present in dance and mime the life history of the various devils that have possessed the sick. There is humour, too, in puns and bawdy jokes. Except to the anxious kith and kin of the afflicted, these devil-dancing ceremonies are entertainment for the masses.

From the point of view of the creative artist and the choreographer both the *perahera* and the *balli* ceremony have prepared audiences for the contemporary ballet.

In addition to this favourable climate the growing popularity of the ballet is helped by the teaching of Kandyan and other forms of dancing in all schools in Ceylon. There is, therefore, an appreciative *cognoscenti* of young and old.

In this propitious climate several financially successful ballets have been produced in Ceylon. When this art form took its first hesitant steps, it ventured into the classic themes of mythology or the Buddhist scriptures. The first ballets were based on the Rāmāyaṇa, concentrating on the abduction of Sītā by the demon king of Lankā and the Nala-Damayantī legend. Buddhist Jātaka stories like Vidura, too, provided themes.

Ballet, today, has departed from these classic subjects. Instead it is preoccupied with contemporary social problems such as the poverty of the peasant and the fisherfolk, and on problems of caste and other disabilities of the under-privileged. Some ballet producers have worked on international perils such as the threat of the atom bomb.

The most outstanding personality in this field is Chitra Sena, who completed this month the 153rd performance, in a matter of two years, of his ballet, *Karadiya* (The Brackish Sea Water), a story of the exploitation of fisherfolk and their total servitude to middle men.

Chitra Sena is now working on a new ballet which deals with social discrimination against the Kandyan dancer by the remnants of the feudal overlords who once employed him.

Like Chitra Sena, other leading dancers are choreographers and script writers too. All of them show the impact of left-wing thought. Vasanta Kumar, who produced *Hiroshima,* a ballet on the atom bomb, is close to the Communist Party. Prema Kumar is associated with the People's United Front, whose leader Philip Gunawardena, as associate of Jayaprakash Narayan when they were both in the United States, is regarded as the man who introduced Marxist thought to Ceylon.

The element of socialist realism in all these ballets and their concern with social criticism is due in part to the script writers' exposure to the Soviet Union and the socialist countries since 1956. Most of the writers of the new ballets have visited these lands on cultural missions and have been impregnated with an earnestness for social reform and an awareness of the responsibility of the artist to the underprivileged.

Prema Kumar's *Bitter Rice* was initiated in his mind by an Italian film of the same title. Some of its scenes recall the grouping of the figures in the opening shots of that film. In its social message, however, it is stricly Ceylonese.

Chitra Sena owes his sense of stagecraft to Uday Shankar. From the Russians he borrowed the *corps de ballet.* He uses it to heighten emotion and reinforce action. In *Karadiya,* the corps *de ballet* is used to convey the terror and the tension and the disruption that is occurring in the lives of the fisherfolk.

Some of these ballets have been pretentious failures. They have attempted much more ideology than could be adequately communicated through the rhythms of the dance. One ballet by Prema Kumar had a dove of peace visiting the various capitals of the world. The idea was based on the invocatory poem, *Selalihini Sandesava,* which in its turn was inspired by Kālidāsa's *Meghadūt. Hiroshima* attempted a big bang which really ended in a whimper.

Despite the occasional shadow of failure between the idea and the execution, the ballet is throbbing with a vitality as spirited as the rhythm of the drums which are the basis of its music. In the lively experimenting that is going on in most art forms in Ceylon today, this is the most exciting and adventurous.

(Denzil Peiris. in IWI, p. 43, 4-10-64)

INDIGENOUS GAMES

Whenever people in this country talk of sport, they invariably mean games such as cricket, tennis, hockey, football, badminton, billiards, etc. Most of these games are confined primarily to urban centres. But what about the millions in the villages? India, with its area of 1¼ million square miles, has over 500,000 villages. Our principal problem is how sport can be taken to these far-flung places.

Whenever India is humbled in a Test match, quite a few critics will sarcastically advise our representatives to take to *gillidanda.* When India lost to Pakistan in the World Hockey Championship, there were several bright sparks who came out with the suggestion that our team should take to the non-violent game of hu-tu-tu. But how many of them realise that there is more in such games than may seem to meet the eye.

Indigenous games may not have the spectacular value generally associated with Western sports, but they certainly have, at any rate in this country, a tremendous spectator appeal. To some they may look primitive in character and outlook; but they are native to the country and what is most important is that they are instrumental in enabling our villagers to take part in healthy recreation. There is no doubt that indigenous games have flourished in spite of sarcasm and sneers, and what is of gratifi-

cation is that since Independence efforts have been made to appreciate the real role indigenous games can play in building up a healthy young India.

Games (indoor and outdoor) have from time immemorial had the broad general connotation of contests played as recreation or as an exhibition of skill—with rules and regulations developing according to times and circumstances. And though sports may be more strictly considered as outdoor pastimes or amusements, with the passage of time sports and games have become inextricably linked.

Every country or nation has its indigenous games and sports, and it may indeed be interesting to note the variety that our ancients had. Our earliest sources of information, apart from the epics, are sculptures, frescoes, carvings, inscriptions, paintings, memoirs, princely chronicles, coins and travellers' records.

In the Rāmāyana, archery was given prime importance and competitive skill in it was an accomplishment and even a prerequisite for a prince.

Our next most ancient record of indigenous games is the Mahābhārata. Here we have clear indications of such recognised sports as swordsmanship, boxing, horse racing, archery, wrestling and the popular game of dice, which eventually led to the great war of Mahābhārata.

Among the ancient Aryans many sports and games were popular, and skill in these, as with the ancient Greeks and Romans was recognised and honoured.

Perhaps the first historically recorded sporting event belongs to the days of the Lichchhavi Confederacy, around 600 B.C. It is confirmed by legend and disconnected records, as also by the reports of the Chinese travellers who have handed down to us so much valuable information. At Vaiśālī, the gay and beautiful capital of the Lichchhavi republic, the Madhuparva (spring festival) was the annual national occasion. At this, apart from important matters and decisions of state, a gala week was organised with different entertainments in which sports and games were major items. Outstanding figures associated themselves here in competitive skill, in archery, racing, swordsmanship, rowing, swimming and other fields, to the admiration and cheering of thousands.

Our ancient indigenous games still persist today in a wide variety of forms.

Athletic sports were practised several thousand years ago in Egypt, as well as in a number of Asiatic nations. Later on the Greeks, 2,740 years ago, in 776 B.C., started the four-yearly series of the famous Olympic games; and in our land too, though full historical records are not available, there must naturally have been organised competitions.

Short-distance, long distance and marathon races have always been in vogue and with the passage of time have come to be so classified. There was obstacle racing also, which is now perhaps less popular than its simplified version, the hurdle race. Long jump, high jump and pole jump, too, have come down to us from remote times. Putting the shot was a favourite pastime of old, when instead of iron balls round stones were thrown. The original spear-throw for distance and for target work now corresponds with the javelin-throw.

The supreme accomplishment in ancient times was skill in archery, and though this was at first employed in war and hunting and was later superseded by the invention of gunpowder, it has always remained a competitive sport of skill and is still popular as a pastime. There are various branches of archery, which include roving, flight and target shooting. And though there are now formal organisations with authority in this line for organised international competition, archery as sport and pastime needs no such stimulus in our country amongst the hill tribes and in other areas where it still flourishes.

Ball games are many and various and are played as much by children as by skilled persons. Normally, there are no restrictions while playing *dadi*, the ball for which is generally made of various scraps of old rag, bound together with string. A side may consist of 1, 10, 12 or 20 members, depending on the number of interested persons, and there are no restrictions on the length and breadth of the field, which may be the village green or any other space available. There are no goal-posts, but merely a demarcation through which the ball must pass, and instead of goal a point is recorded for or against. There are no rules or regulations, except that the hand should not touch the ball. Another popular game is played between two teams with a ball made of rags, on the village fields. The purpose is to hit this

ball with an improvised crooked stick and force it into the opponent's goal, the demarcation of which is made with two stones. A corresponding game has been played in various other countries for centuries under different names. For example, in Ireland it was known as "hurly" in Scotland as "shinty" and in Wales as "bandy". In our country the name for this game also varies according to the regional language.

The acient Iranian variant is the forerunner of the modern hockey, and the widespread prevalence of the game in India may be the reason for the country's international supremacy.

Another ball game still found in many backward areas and villages is played by two contending teams without fixed limitation of numbers or of size of field, the ball being thrown from one end of this at a wicket of stone guarded by a player with a crude bat. The batsman hits the ball and makes runs and can be caught out or run out if he is not back at his wicket in time. In many places, instead of a single stone, two improvised stone pillars are used, one foot or 18 in. high and about two feet from each other, across which a stick is placed (equivalent to the modern bails). This game is a country cousin of our popular cricket, and also perhaps of baseball.

Then there is a hand-ball game in which a line is traced between two competing teams and a ball is fought over, with each side trying to hit a target. This is related to the modern volley-ball and basketball.

Aquatic sports have always had a popularity and charm of their own—among them: swimming races; holding the breath and remaining under water for the longest possible duration; racing under water with the breath held; swimming against the current; while in many places a small stick was thrown into a lake or river and two teams were formed to snatch it away, under locally approved rules. Diving from a height, especially into deep wells has also long been a great contest of skill.

Rowing competitions, individual and in teams, have come down through history since men took boats into the water. Competitions are organised on rafts, big wooden tree-trunks and small boats, in accordance with local usage.

The ancient sport of boxing has been practised since early times and derives from the remoter prize fights with bare knuckles

of ancient India. It is known as *mushtika prahar* and can be broadly identified with pugilism. The art has always been a valuable means of defence, depending on ready and effective weapons, and in ancient times and as practised at present in some places, there was no regular "ring", but an area was demarcated wherein the two contestents fought, the one who felled the other being the winner. There was and is perhaps more skill in the ancient sport than in its modern equivalent.

Fights of elephants, bulls, cocks and partridges have also been sports in their own line. The two last, indeed, still persist, but the two preceding have generally been sports of kings and feudal lords, as was the hunting of deer with a cheetah.

Pigeon racing has its fascination, and though not so widely practised today as a sport, it stiil retains its charm and interest. The bird's propensity to return to its own house, even from great distances, has made it an object of fancy and interest and thus of sporting use, especially for long-distance racing, which may range from 100 to 500 or even, 1,000 miles. It is a surprising fact that in long races, pigeons are capable of from 12 to 17 hours' non-stop flight without food or water. Perhaps no other animal in the world has acquired such stupendous stamina and powers of endurance, as a result of specialised breeding for thousands of years. Pigeons are known to have flown at an average speed of 40 m.p.h. even touching at times 70 m.p.h.

Card games, which are of many types, have always been popular, since they require a minimum of space and it is easy to collect players, who may vary in number from two, three or four to many. In India, these games were originally played with small round cards, 2 to 4 in. in diameter, widely known as *ganjifa*. These were very popular in Mughal times, but are now nearly extinct, having been superseded by modern playing cards.

Chess is a historical game. It originated in our country and early found its way to Iran, being taken up in due course by the Muslim Arabs, when they established themselves as masters of West Asia. Its popularity spread to the Far East, and it had established itself in Russia and the countries of Western Europe by the 13th century. Since then it has been played all over the civilised world. A very high degree of skill is shown in this game.

Horse racing, though the sport of kings, has always had the masses to gather and watch it; but it is also practised locally on

ponies, mules and horses, in accordance with the terrain and the facilities available. The length and type of race have varied, but generally there has been a leaning to showmanship—riding bare-back, standing on a horse while galloping, and so forth. The sport has now become an occasion for systematised gambling, but it still continues to be a favourite competitive pastime in any village where horses are avalable, and especially in Rajasthan—on the border tracts famous for the Malani breed of horses—as well as in Gujarat.

Though the origin of marbles has not been clearly traced, the game has certainly been played for thousands of years. It was known in ancient Egypt, and has always been popular with children. The essential feature of all variants of the game is to hit one marble with another. Sometimes the marbles are rolled along the ground, but the more usual way is to shoot them with a finger.

Sword fighting originated with mock swords, and later on, as the sport developed, these were replaced with genuine blades. One of the most fascinating and dangerous of sports, it requires consummate skill. In foreign countries it has been developed as "fencing". In India, as a rule, a shield is used, but at times the experts dispense with this. The essential of a good swordsman is to combine, with perfect coolness, a quick eye, rapidity of movement, firmness of foot and suppleness of limb, and to be able to parry and yet effectively to strike.

Mountaineering, as a sport, has always attracted the adventurous and courageous, and calling, as it does (in its Indian form), for a minimum of expense and equipment, it is able to flourish in hilly and mountainous regions. The contest is generally to reach a peak or traverse a marked distance in the quickest time. No other sport requires such courage, strength and powers of endurance. With the hill tribes it is an accomplishment of long standing, and being sure-footed the tribesmen always compete locally with the greatest of zest.

Kite-flying is one of the oldest sports, and is everywhere practised with cheerful enthusiasm. In many parts of the country Makar Sankrānti is the festival day on which kiteflying is especially favoured. There are many patterns and kinds of kites of a local character. And in this sport there are competitive rules. There is distance flying, cutting of the kite-string, loop flying,

swooping, and so forth. Practised by young and old alike, kite-flying comes next in attraction only to the ball games.

The swing also provides one of our very ancient recreations, which has developed a competitive character and is particularly popular with children and ladies during the rainy season.

Vyāyām, broadly covering the indigenous types of physical exercises, including gymnastics, has been one of the country's most important attractions, both for body-building and as source of interesting competition.

There are many capital forms of exercise, among them *dand, baithak, mugdar* and *malkhamb*, which are practised without the aid of apparatus and generally give the utmost physical capacity to the individual by bringing into harmony the action of the muscles and the body. There is a very wide range of such exercises.

Dice is amongst our oldest games but, though it calls for skill, it is mainly a game of chance. Various types of dice games have been popular in our country since long before the days of the Mahābhārata. Generically, the game is commonly known as *chopad*.

Wrestling, since the remotest days, has been one of the spectacular attractions of village, town and city. The contest has always been primarily on a basis of strength, when the two fighters locked with each other and strove for mastery, each trying to pin the other down and make it impossible for him to rise till he had accepted defeat. Later on, rules developed among them that the opponent is to be considered defeated when he is extended with his back to the ground and the victor is over him.

The *akhada*, by whatever name it may be called, is a common sight in every village, and whenever there is a wrestling bout, especially at the time of a village festival or fair, it is the chief centre of attraction, offering a man the clearest field for demonstrating his physical supremacy over others. It has also provided an essential education for the princely order in our country, as in others in older times.

Kabbadi, though not of very ancient origin, has been played since the Middle Ages as a team game of skill and individual strength, with a special emphasis on holding the breath. It is, perhaps, the most popular of village sports and, though it has

now obtained recognition at a national level, its charm is experienced less in the regularised competitions than in its native surroundings of village or city *mohalla,* wherever boys or men gather together to indulge in their favourite sport. Next to wrestling, *kabbadi* is the most popular contest at our village festivals and fairs.

Khokho is another favourite indigenous sport. It is a "run-and chase" game, demanding high skill, swift reflexes and keen concentration, combined with speed and grasp of the overall situation. It is somewhat akin to *kabbadi* and is very popular in Maharashtra and the South. It has now become a recognised game for schoolgirls in their contests and can be played in a fairly confined space.

An article on indigenous sports and games will be incomplete without a reference to *gillidanda,* a game played with a small stick (daṇḍa) and a pointed *gilli-stick,* 6 in. to 9 in. in length. The game shows certain variations of rules from place to place, and there is no restriction on the length and breadth of the field, or on the number of competitors forming a side. This is an extremly popular game with boys and in the poorer sectors of cities and towns.

Our indigenous games and pastimes may vary in popularity, but the fact remains, and will remain, that they have their own charm in their natural setting and are practised with mirth and glee by the populace in all sorts of contexts and surroundings (By V. N. Kak in IWI., dated 18-10-64, p. 6 & 51).

HOW INDIAN IS MODERN INDIAN ART?

Historically speaking, Art in the past had meant different things to different people at different times. To the earliest of human forbears, for example, it had supernatural significance because it was believed literally to breathe life into the objects drawn or painted. Later, as civilisation progressed—or deteriorated, depending on what one assumes civilisation seeks to achieve—Art began to acquire a more mundane and utilitarian aspect. Its purpose was considered to be precise—namely, to give form to articles in daily use. In classical times, in the hands of the Greek and Roman sculptors, it became a medium for the glorification of Man in the context of his potentialities on the severely limited physical plane, while the deft Oriental fingers continued to

subordinate it to the essentials of a vaguely spiritual vision. In the medieval times, the European artist, once again, sought to provide a metaphysical base for his work which gradually acquired a mystic flavour, while in India, at about this time, sculptors seemed to have become intensely aware of the sheer sensuousness of human form. Naturally, they would emphasise the sinuous curves of the female figure with greater zest than the formal straight lines of a distant-looking saint or deity. Under the impact of the High Renaissance, the artist in Europe, once again, allowed himself to be carried away by the physical grandeur of the world around him, in the true spirit of the ancient Graeco-Roman classicists. So the arrival of the photographer on the scene, as the painter's rival, did not seem too remote a possibility. And when he eventually emerged as a serious danger to the progress of painting because of the obvious advantages of the camera over the palette, the artist reacted sharply by turning away from the world of appearances.

Now, at least, the photographer and the artist have learnt to co-exist. But the price the public has been called upon to pay for this rapprochement is too high. For they are both determined to attempt the impossible—by not only heading towards the Ivory Tower but by insisting that the ordinary gallery-goer accompany them. Modern photography has already become as subjective as modern painting.

So, when Art down the ages has been recognised as one of the most undefinable, unpredictable and incomprehensible aspects of human endeavour, how can one be precise about the meaning of its present-day manifestations? What is still more difficult to attempt is an assessment of Modern Art in the Indian context. The reason is obvious: the absence of roots. Whether one is convinced of the enduring quality of Contemporary Art or not, one is sure of its origins, which can be immediately identified with the West and, romotely, with the heritage of Asia and Africa. But in India the so-called avant-garde artist is a pitiable paradox. Indeed few traditionalists are more conforming than he. But what does he conform to? Painfully enough, the answer is: Reproductions! The result is that his work, even at its technical best, has to remain third-rate because of its humiliating derivativeness. The intellectual and artistic bankruptcy that it represents is a national disgrace and an international joke.

The trouble with the modern Indian artist is that his sources, if he has any at all, are as far removed from the East as from the West. He is not worried in the least about his tragic state of uncertainty of which apparently, he is not even aware. He fancies himself to be ahead of his time, not realising the fact the he has actually become a laughing stock, not only among the ignorant but among the bulk of gallery-goers who do not care for Modern Art because they do not know how to look at it, but among those discerning specialists who love it intensely because they understand it thoroughly. All the same, nothing can disturb his supine complacency. He goes on merrily tinkering with this technique and trifling with that discovery. He is not keen on educating himself, because the sales of his canvases are steadily impressive. His admirers are no doubt ignorant. But they are affluent and fashionable, and nothing gives them greater pleasure than to be identified with anything that is modern. So, when they buy the works of our younger artists, what they wish to acquire are, not paintings worth living with, but status-symbols worth fussing over. Our critics and dealers are not less indiscriminate in their praise or condemnation of Modern Art which, frankly speaking, they know nothing about. They command no respect with artists or collectors, who naturally turn to the foreign expert for a confirmation of their own decisions. The tragic anomaly of such a situation in the Indian perspective is obvious enough. Connoisseurs of Modern Art in the Western context are compelled to assume a role that does not fit them at all and have to pretend to be the sanctimonious arbiters of taste in Iindia. A pat from them on the back thrills the younger Indian artist. He paints, not for his own pleasure, not even for that of his patrons who can hardly judge whether he is creative or imitative, but solely for winning the half-hearted admiration of the embarrassed European and American authorities on Modern Indian Art. Will he ever emerge as the equal of the contemporary artists of Europe and America?

Let me clarify my point. I am not against foreign experts. I am not against the hypocritical flattery that they lavish on our modern painters. But I am against our artists who seek it. How can we condemn the Western pundits for playing reluctantly a role that is thrust on them? I am also against our well-intentioned but ill-equipped critics who speak a foreign language. Their intellectual emancipation is long overdué. It is time they stopped assessing the experiments of our present-day painters in relation

to influences which do not exist. They are as subservient to jargon as our artists are subservient to technique. Modern Indian Art does not need any defending. It is either Modern or not, it is either Indian or not and it is either Art or not. But then what precisely does one mean by such terms as "Modern", "Indian" and "Art"? Whatever one may mean, it is necessary to represent one's perception of the very core of Modernity—of its national essentials camouflaged by its international externals. No experiment can succeed unless it is rooted in tradition which sustains it. So the weakness of the Modern Indian Artist lies in his state of animated suspension to which can be traced all his other defects, such as his derivativeness, technical exhibitionism, intellectual indiscipline, overt commercialism, suicidal complacency and so on.

An artist who understands the truth about Modernity thinks twice before tackling it, because he is fully aware of the risks involved in such a misadventure. He is a sort of matador and he cannot accept the formidable challenge of Modern Art unless he feels convinced of his skill as well as strength. But, in India, to the younger artists, departure from tradition seems to be child's play. To them, ostensibly, nothing is easier than distorting a subject, or abstracting it. It is a pity that they do not realise how difficult it is to draw. What is still more difficult is to distort with painterly insight and finenesse so that the canvas communicates with the spectator. The most difficult thing to do is to breathe life into a non-objective composition. It is as easy to concoct an abstraction as it is difficult to create one in a manner that is compelling. In other countries, abstraction represents almost the final phase of an artist's development. It marks the fulfilment of his life-long search for the significant form. But in India the artist's career begins and ends with non-figurative art and his sense of achievement is indeed most disconcerting.

Of course, this does not mean that Modern Indian Art is something that deserved downright condemnation. One can only comment on the trends that create the artistic climate in a particular country at a given time. Unfortunately, most artists are victims of these, and it is they who mould taste of the gallery-goer. So the task in which they are involved is a very responsible one, and on their ability and integrity depends the prestige of the nation. No one makes the retrograde suggestion that they had better return to tradition. But it is imperative that they

master their avant-garde techniques in the true spirit of innovators before exhibiting them publicly. What they should aim at is, not the adaptation, but the assimilation of the modern idiom.

The French modernist is first French and then modern, in the sense that his allegiance, primarily, is to the ideals he has inherited from his ancestors. That is why, he achieves subtlety, finesse and harmony on intellectual and artistic planes with such ease. Likewise the English modernist pays greater attention to the Englishness of his art than to its avant-garde overtones. Naturally, what strikes one most in an English abstraction is, not its plasticity, but its placidity—in other words its controlled poetry. Similarly the American innovator is essentially an exponent of the mood and milieu of his nation rather than of any *ism.* So is the Mexican, the Spaniard, the Japanese, the Indonesian and everybody else.

What does one find in India? A madhouse. One cannot describe more mildly what confronts one in this ancient land which was once the abode of sanity and serenity. It is not cynicism that makes me react so negatively to the concoctions—not creations mind you!—of our younger artists. On the contrary, it is nationalism that makes me feel ashamed of the bulk of Modern Art. By the way, patriotism is a virtue for which evidently there is no place in the India of today. Nor is it correct to say that I have a tendency to judge experimental art much too harshly because of my contempt for it. *Concern* is the word, not *contempt,* I submit. My hatred is reserved, not for modern or academic art but for bad art wherever it may be and in whatever form. My anxiety about the future of experimental art is too intense to permit me to reject or ridicule the genuine doubts of a rebel. But where are the rebels among our painters and sculptors? We have only salesmen. It is easy for our younger artists to accept the clichés discarded by the Western masters and style themselves as exponents of a global movement. Surely, there cannot be internationalism without nationalism, just as there cannot be a superstructure without a base.

Set against this background, naturally, the works of such dedicated Indian artists as Amrita Sher-Gil, Jamini Roy, George Keyt, Sailoz Mookherjea, Ramkinkar, M. F. Husain, N. S. Bendre, K. K. Hebbar, Shiavax Chavda, Sheila Auden, Nirode Mazumdar, Paritosh Sen and others, and, among the younger ones, Har Krishnan Lall, Pradumna Tana, Shanti Dave, Rasik Raval, Badri Narayan and A. A. Almelkar, to mention only a few become

singularly important. Their loyalty is first to the image of India and then to the modern idiom. Our surviving modernists are uncompromisingly Indian as well as modern and have no patience with such charlatans as make clichés sound profound. What distinguishes their art is that foundation of all creative expression, mastery over technique which, however, they can never allow to constrict their vision or experience. They are engaged in the serious task of making Modern Art seem not only inevitable but imperative in the Indian context. Their visual vocabulary is based on distinctively indigenous sources such as folk art, temple carvings, miniature paintings, decorative or ritualistic panels, literary symbols, musical modes and so on. An artist is best judged by the quality of his drawing and Indian art, being, in essence, almost a synonym for linear rhythm and grace, is the despair of the incompetent or dishonest artist, a fact our art teachers are well advised to emphasise in their classes.

So the fate of the experiments of our younger artists depends, in the first instance, on the degree of their technical proficiency. Secondly, they must have a vision of their own and they must convince themselves before they set about convincing others that it is worth recording. Which means, thirdly, that they must be sure of their judgment. This is not possible unless they are intellectually not merely honest but alive to the latest developments in the art world. Fourthly, they must not, under any circumstances, lose sight of the basic elements of Indian art, such as its sublime earthiness, its seductive elusiveness and its serene exuberance, qualities hard to acquire in the absence of empathy, discipline and perceptivity. Finally, it is necessary that they evolve, sooner or later, an attitude of utter self-effacement in the true spirit of a dedicated Oriental. It is possible for one to make one's presence felt or project one's image of oneself without disclosing one's identity. Individuality through anonymity: this has been the idea of Indian artists down the ages and, indeed, it will do a lot of good to our present-day painters and sculptors to try and live up to it.

(A. S. Raman, IWI., 20-9-64, pp. 37-39).

A VANISHING TRIBE

In the following extracts relating to an aboriginal jungle tribe the Kurubas living in the border between Madras and Mysore States, Mr. M. Krishnan revises the estimate of Mr. G. P. Sander-

son (one of the very few Englishmen who took the pains to learn the language of the Kurubas and live with them) in his *Thirteen years among the wild beasts of India.* "Sanderson made his acquaintance", writes Mr. Krishnan, "with the tribe late in the second half of the 19th century; I did so early in the second half of the 20th, almost in the same area — the Kurubas I know, might well be the descendants of those he knew — and found no radical change in the course of very nearly a century, a century marked by great changes among people elsewhere."

The Kurubas are, I think unrelated to the shephered tribe of the same name in the Deccan, and are probably aboriginal to the Mudumalai area. Here, they are much wider spread than Sanderson's account of them might lead one to think, having their homes in Sultan's Battery and elsewhere in the surrounding Kerala territory, and both in the Madras and Mysore sides of the tract. They are specially good with captive elephants, as many are employed as mahouts or *kavadis* (a *kavadi* is a mahout's assistant) at governmental elephant camps, or as trackers or watchers in the Forest Department. There are several sects of them, such as the Kaadu (Forest), Betta (Hill), and Jane (Honey) Kurubas, but all are true sons and daughters of the jungles, much more so than the other aborigines of the Nilgiris, the Todas and the Badagas. Kurubas do not keep sheep or cattle, and since Sanderson's day, cultivation by private citizens by the wasteful method of clear-felling and burning forest areas has been prohibited, with the result that few Kurubas today go in for agricultures.

Those in departmental employment, especially when on duty, wear a shirt and a dhoti, or shorts or trousers (supplied departmentally); but those not so employed, and employees off duty, have less fancy in their attire, and see no point in a change of clothes. The women, now less lightly clad than in the past, wear a sensible one-piece garment, a cloth (often brightly patterned) knotted below the arms. They are much less given to personal adornment than most of their tribal sisters.

The Kurubas worship their old deities still — Masinamma, Bomma, and Maasthi are the most powerful of these. In their names, too, they stick to the limited but established past. Bomma, Chella, Kaalla, Maadha, Maara, and Siddha are typical masculine names; adjectival prefixes to these such as 'Dod' (Big), 'Chick' (Small), and 'Kulla' (Short); often serve to distinguish people

having the same name, a necessary expedient in a community with so few names.

Even today their dependence on the jungle is great. Besides the eight kinds of *genasu* (yams and tubers) and the wild honey mentioned by Sanderson, they eat many kinds of jungle fruits (often cooking even the ripe fruits), and know just what mushrooms are edible and where they are to be found. They net, and eat, a variety of small creatures besides the langur and forest squirrels — mouse deer, hare, porcupine, monitor lizard, game birds (and their eggs), and even termites when they swarm (the Jane Kurubas do not eat termites). Their staple diet, however, is rice gruel.

Jungle Lore

Their jungle lore, as I can testify, is exceptionally sound and practical. They know the trees and other plants of the forest, and are most adroit at improvizing cordage from various barks for various purposes. They are wonderfully skilful with the bill-hook, particularly when cutting, splitting and splicing the versatile bamboo, from which they can make a ladder or household utensil as readily as they can build a tidy little hut — they can even make you a sofa or an armchair entirely from split, unmatted bamboo!

Snaring and trapping, they need to have a more intimate knowledge of wild animals than the hunters, and they are top-rate trackers. But their natural history, except for the knowledge needed to capture or track an animal, is surprisingly limited, and at times quaintly fanciful and anthropomorphic. However, they are quick to learn — if you can teach them. It is significant that it is the older men that are the best trackers and know the animals best.

It is easy to paint a romantic and false picture of these children of the jungle, still so natural in their values and way of life. But after making every allowance for the tendency, I will say that a more upsophisticated, simpler, more cheerful, and dignified people are hard to find anywhere. I am not for a moment suggesting that the Kuruba is incapable of deceit — he is no plaster saint. But usually he is straightforward, and even when he is cunning, his is a cunning free from sophistry, casuistry, and the logical arguments and hair-splitting distinctions that our more intellectual selves are prone to.

Kuruba language

The Kuruba language iself inhibits such development. As Sanderson points out, it is basically a dialect of Kannada; most Kurubas have a smattering of Malayalam and Tamil as well. Their tongue has a strongly accented, rhythmic cadence, and never runs to long sentences. This tightness of expression is most refreshing after the interminable verbiage of our culture, and at times it achieves, as any stylist will know that it must, a remarkably terse, adjective-free vividness, more usually associated with the finest poetry of a language than with its scriptless dialects.

Once, when I was on elephant back with two Kurubas; seeking to make out a leopard lurking in the dull, streaky, withered, grey-and-brown tangle of tall grass twenty feet away, and could gain no clue to its presence by looking for shape, one of the men whispered in my ear: "Over there — there is a brightness in the grass — that is the leopard" — a memorable, true, and instantly communicated indication of the hidden, crouching beast! And last September, when a Kuruba had been killed by a wild elephant from a herd, one of his tribesmen described the tragedy to me. "He and his companion were walking through the jungle where the bamboo had seeded, and saw the herd, and took a path away from it. And this elephant, which was behind the path, came upon him suddenly and caught him before he could run, and broke his back with a kick. Then it went away, and his friend took him on his back and somehow stumbled the three miles to his home, but when he reached it he was dying. He looked at his wife and children and then he died, but it was given to him to look at his dear ones before he closed his eyes..' The translation is very close — and is there not something biblical in the simple power of the words?

At times the Kuruba will even seek to convey things deeply but darkly sensed, almost in metaphysical terms. The phrase "in my *dhyāna*" is used then, a phrase that may connote anything from vulgar, common reason to an esoteric experience, or even something as winged as a vision. And once some conviction has entered his *dhyāna*, your paltry logic and assertion of authority are futile. A Kuruba always respects or, at any rate, fears—authority, and flees from it when he can. Therefore, if you happen to be some species of boss, he will concur with your reasoned exposition at

once, and agree that things must be as you say—but in his *dhyāna* he knows better.

In "Dhyāna"

After all that I have said about the tribe, it is a bit of a climb down to admit that the Kurubas are wholly artless, but they are. Their folklore is rudimentary, and they have no music or traditional graphic art. The women dance a tribal dance in a ring to a monotonous chant, a "padam" which they sing themselves, while clapping their hands rhythmically—a childish dance which a six-year-old can master. The words of the "padam" made no sense to me, and hoping aganst hope, I asked the women for the meaning. They could not tell, for they did not know themselves, but they referred me to a tribal elder. Consulted in turn, the elder scratched his head and then his thigh, and then informed me that the "padam" had come down from remote times, when people knew its meaning: he, of course, did not know, what the words meant, but in his *dhyāna* he felt that they must have had some meaning in the past. And I assured him that I, too, felt the same way, in mine.

(M. Krishnan in *IWI*, 14-6-64, pp. 56-57).

NAVASANDHI DANCE

This is a dance that has been resuscitated from the past by certain Bharata Nāṭyam exponents. At one time a popular piece performed in the South Indian shrines "as part of the ceremonies connected with the *Dhwajārohaṇa* (or flag-hoisting) at the commencement of temple festivals", it is dedicated to the presiding deities of the eight quarters and Brahmā (*Indro, Vahniḥ, Pitrupatiḥ, Nirritiṛ, Varuṇa, Marut/Kubera, Īśah, patayaḥ, pūrvādīnām diśām kramāt*). Unfortunately however, the *nṛtta* pieces that go to form the Navasandhi dance are not charged with emotional content and hence make the most exacting demands on the dancer and the audience alike when transferred on to the modern age. Essentially a ritualistic dance, the Navasandhi demands from the onlookers a certain acquaintance with the Hindu religion and rites for a proper appreciation of the sequences depicted.

(*IWI*, 29-3-64, p. 55)

BHILS OF KHED BRAHMA

In the fastness of the Aravali ranges dividing Rajasthan from Gujarat, more than a hundred miles from Ahmedabad in the North, have been living over the centuries about 40,000 Bhils locked up in their pristine tribal civilization. Being unconnected by road or rail, they have undergone but little change in their primitive ways of living. Independence came but affected them little. It was the ushering in of the C.D. Programme and the consequent setting up of the Khed Brahma Multipurpose Tribal Block in 1956 that brought them into the warmth of the fold of advanced human civilization for the first time. The Block comprises 97 villages covering an area of 205 square miles.

It is an exciting experience to see for oneself the vast changes —social, economic and political—that have overtaken them within a short period of eight years only. One would hardly believe that these carefree sons and daughters of Nature whose main occupation has been hunting with the help of bows and arrows are now taking to agriculture with verve and are marching shoulder to shoulder with the rest of the people in India. Whereas, previously, a few of them grew only maize here and there, they have now learnt to cultivate cotton and wheat as well. By taking to improved seeds and fertilizers, they have increased their agricultural yield four to five times. Their per capita income has gone up at least three times. The traditional tribal leaders whose word was law in the past are now losing their importance before the democratically elected young leaders of the Panchayati Raj bodies. In matters of dress, habits and social customs they are fast becoming modernized. Polygamy which was widely prevalent amongst the older generation is being given up by the younger people. Whereas previously it was common for a person to have at least a score of progeny, some having as many as forty or fifty, the younger generation has reacted favourably to the message of Family Planning and they are making conscious efforts to limit their families.

Fascinating as this drama of vast social changes is, no less interesting are their old habits and social customs which though mostly outdated yet have some of lasting utility. The social as well as the development workers in charge of the work there would do well to ensure that these good and useful traditions are not indiscriminately changed to suit the needs of the new civilization that is being opened up before them.

Habits and Social customs

The Bhils love out-door life and are fond of hunting with bows and arrows. Some of them would still kill the fish in water by shooting an arrow at it rather than catch it by angling or netting. Their fearlessness and courage inspires awe. I met 65 year old Natha who narrated to me without any emotion how he caught hold of the tail of a sleeping tiger because it used to kill his sheep and then killed it after a duel. He showed me the scars on his body—results of injuries sustained during the encounter. And surprisingly, the wounds were healed as a result of the application of some herbs because he would not be admitted in the hospital. This splendid courage and physical prowess would perhaps be the first casualty of the new civilization.

They are a very simple and straightforward people. They would never tell a lie. Even if they commit a murder, they would confess it in the court of law. Thefts and robberies are as yet unknown. What the advancing new civilization would bring is anybody's guess.

It would be wrong to say that they had little community spirit before the Community Development Programme came in. Whenever someone from amongst them is in distress all would join hands and help him out of the difficulty. If someone loses his flock of cattle or poultry, others would contribute and make good his loss. Similar community spirit is in evidence in agricultural operations as well. Though cultivation of the Kharif crop is individual, Rabi crop is cultivated on a community basis irrespective of the ownership rights of land or of wells or other resources. Here is Co-operative Farming at its best.

The tribals have great respect for women. They would never beat them. The boys and girls mix freely and they have freedom to select their partners. They are fond of community singing and dancing during Holi festival. Whenever a young boy selects his partner, they elope for a day in the forest and it is concluded that they have become engaged. They resort to formal marriage only when their economic condition permits, otherwise they just start leading a married life. They immediately separate from their parents and begin to live in a new house. Formal marriage may be celebrated at any later period whenever convenient. It is not uncommon to see aged couples celebrating their marriage in the pre-

sence of their sons and grandsons. Although before marriage there is free mixing amongst boys and girls, they follow a strict code of morality after marriage. The husbands would jealously guard the chastity of their wives so much so that they would work in the fields and move out of the village together. If a person has more than one wife as they usually have, they all live together in the same room each having her perch behind a grain *kothi* and a separate *chulha*. They would seldom quarrel with each other.

Their social and economic conditions underwent but little change over the course of years. If at all, these became worse with the lapse of time. Before Independence, Khed Brahma formed part of the Ider State. During those days the simple tribal people were victims of cruel indifference and rapacity of the rulers and their *Ahalkars*. It was unwarranted repression that made Moti Lal Tejwat, dewan of a local chieftain, turn a rebel to the Ider ruler and the British Government. He rallied round him a force of 5,000 tribals with 500 guns and 500 horses. He became so popular with the Ādivāsis that he was worshipped almost as a god. On his bidding, many gave up drinking, cow-slaughter and polygamy,—the three taboos he preached. Finally, it was on Gandhiji's advice that he gave up the creed of violence. But the persecution of the British rulers would not let him settle down as a constructive worker. He courted imprisonment and was freed only after India attained independence. It is sad to learn that this true friend and guide of the Bhils died only a few months ago at the ripe old age of 85.

Confidence won

When the Multipurpose Project was started in 1956, the Ādivāsis dreaded the project staff and would not come near them. They had a bitter experience of the past when the socalled civilized human beings coming from outside knew only to exploit and harass them. But luckily in Shri Chandu Bhai Patel, the first Project Officer, the State Government had a very sympathetic and sensible person who was a tried social worker of Gujarat. He was given a free hand in the selection of the best team of the extension staff to work with him. From the very beginning he and his staff adopted a very cautious and humane attitude towards the Ādvāsis. For the first six months they never talked about any item of social welfare or development work. They tried to pick up their dialect—an admixture of Gujarati and Rajasthani.

They would sit, move and work with them in the fields and at the home. Their plan of operation was that they selected 50 out of the 97 villages and established personal contacts with three or four persons in each village. In course of time the Ādivāsis realized that these people were somewhat different from those they had met in the past. The project staff thus succeeded in coming closer to them and in winning their confidence.

The Project Officer's first task was to fire their imagination and inspire them to development efforts through self-help. This could be easily achieved if they saw for themselves how the people in other parts of the State lived. But they were too shy to move out of their little territory. It was with great difficulty that fifty people could be persuaded to go on a trip. It was a sight to see them leave their villages. Their wives, relatives and children, all turned up to bid them good-bye. They thought that the tourists were undertaking such a hazardous job that they might perhaps never return. Most of them had never seen a train. As they reached the railway station, three of them were so scared that they ran away for their very lives. On reaching Ahmedabad, the glare of electricity and the din and bustle of the city worked on their nerves so much that one of them turned mad and had to be brought back. Countless difficulties had to be faced particularly at the time of meals, and their moving out on the roads in the city for they found it hard to adjust themselves to the new conditions. The self-locking doors of the lavatories had to be broken open thrice because the person inside did not know how to open it.

With all these hazards and difficulties in the tour, the group had a novel experience of their life-time when they saw vast fields full of rich crops of wheat and cotton in Kaira district, huge machines producing the white crystals of sugar at Surat, the rolling waters of the sea at Bombay, the cows with a milk yield of 20 lbs. in the Aery colony and bullocks three to four times bigger in size than they had ever seen. When they returned home, they talked of all these 'wonderful things' and the entire tribal area was astir with the tales of their experience. It was in such an atmosphere of mass excitement that the seeds of development activities found a fertile soil to germinate and grow.

Canalizing increased income

Agricultural development was given top priority. The Ādivāsis had very few irrigation wells. But they depended a lot on

natural channels called 'Sarans' dug out of hill rivulets. They have acquired considerable skill in this method and can manage to irrigate undulating fields at varying heights by changing the water level of the rivulets by putting small earthen dams across them. A number of 'Sarans' were dug and the area under this system of irrigation rose by 3,000 acres. Up till now they largely grew maize only by broadcasting the seeds and leaving the rest to Nature. But it was now felt that the black cotton soil was ideal for cotton cultivation. Therefore, some cotton seeds were distributed amongst the willing cultivators to grow the new corp. Cotton cultivation was of course not entirely unknown in the area. Jekabhai, a farmer who had come from outside and settled in village Patadia several years ago had made some pioneering efforts at cotton cultivation. But obviously it had not caught on. It was for the first time now that the Ādivāsis gave the new crop a trial on having been assured by the Project staff that they might pay the cost of the seeds only if they gained something from the crop. Luckily, it proved to be a very good crop. But before it could mature, a good portion of it was consumed raw by the Ādivāsis to whom the pod was so tasteful that they called it "Kairi" i.e. mango and ate it raw. The sale of the cotton brought some money. To most of them it was the largest amount of cash they had handled in their lives so far. As cotton cultivation increased year by year, their income also went up. Within two years, cotton cultivation was pursued practically by every family. Mixed crop of cotton and maize was also introduced. This resulted in increased output of the maize crop as well. In course of time cultivation of wheat was also considerably stepped up.

Before the Project started, the Ādivāsis had been following the primitive methods of cultivation. They used to sow seeds by broadcasting and used bullocks only for drawing water from the wells. The wells had indigenous Persian wheels made of wood with earthen buckets. They now learnt cultivation by bullock power. Improved farming practices such as line-sowing, use of improved seeds and fertilizers were also introduced. It is interesting to note how in their simplicity more than 150 persons from three villages applied for taccavi to purchase new bullocks for they thought that their old bullocks were used to move only in circles to draw water from the Persian wheels and were not suited for line-sowing cultivation.

Their agricultural income now began to increase rapidly. As they were used to barter system and their wants were few they did not know what to do with their extra income. The children with their pocketfuls and the elders with bagfuls of cotton would rush to the only stall of a tea vendor on the bus route to Posina to avail of the refreshments offered by him. The latter who hardly earned Rs. 2 a day has now had a roaring business up to Rs. 200 a day. Many outsiders were tempted to set up similar canteens. Sensing a danger of exploitation of the simple tribal folk in this move, the Project authorities succeeded in restricting indiscriminate opening up of such shops.

However, one thing became clear. There was now plenty of money to go round amongst the Ādivāsis. Either they would come to Khed Brahma to sell cotton and other produce or the *Vohras* would themselves go to the interior villages and purchase their produce. Money did come into wide circulation amongst them. Their age-old barter system received a deadly blow. It became clear as daylight to the Project authorities that unless surplus money was canalized into constructive activities there was danger of its being misused in drinking and such other vices. The Project Officer wisely decided to launch two schemes, one of digging wells and the other of building model houses to mop up the surplus money. And both were needs of the hour. A new slogan became widely current amongst the Ādivāsis: "*Khado Nahin Taine Ladi Nahin*" i.e. "A man without a well should not be given a girl in marriage". Digging of wells in a rocky area like Khed Brahma project is extremely difficult. Provision for adequate supplies of explosives was made available to three cooperative societies to facilitate rock blasting. Taccavi was given in kind rather than in cash. All this had a miraculous effect on the progress of digging wells. By now about 1,000 wells have been sunk in the Project area.

The Ādivāsis are habituated to live in a dark, one-roomed tenement. Their houses are scattered. A village of 50 houses would be scattered over an area of 4 to 5 square miles. An offer from the Project authorities to give them 50% subsidy to help build model houses did not induce them to come forward. However, an unforeseen natural factor forced them to reconsider the offer. As they began to store cotton in their thatched houses, cases of outbreak of fire became very common. A few of them ultimately reconciled themselves to the idea of building new

houses. Under the Housing Scheme, plans of three types of model houses costing Rs. 700, Rs. 900 and Rs. 1,800 respectively were prepared and the Ādivāsis were offered 50% subsidy in the form of the services of the mason, cement and wood: the labour and the collection of stones being the responsibility of the owner. After the scheme had caught their imagination, the subsidy was withdrawn and they began to build new houses entirely on their own. In this way, more than a thousand were built in the Project area. In order to encourage them to live in a group, twelve houses and a Community Centre have been built at one place in village Limbada.

As the prosperity of the Bhils increased, the *Vohras* who used to do trade with them combined and would not pay for cotton more than Rs. 34 per md. although its price in the market was about Rs. 55. To put a stop to this exploitation of the tribals, cooperative societies were started for purchase of cotton. In Khed Brahma, a cooperative ginning factory was also set up. The cooperative movement faced a stiff opposition from the *Vohras*. But the greatest difficulty was the lack of literature and trained local persons to manage the cooperatives. Competent hands had to be imported from outside.

As a result of all these efforts, their economic condition has improved considerably. Their per capita income has almost trebled since the Project was taken in hand. For instance, in Patadia village, seven Ādivāsis have purchased land worth Re. one lakh sixty thousand from Jekabhai who was the first person to have come from outside and settled down as an agriculturist in the village. Galabhai Andabhai is a progressive farmer whose yearly income from agriculture has gone up from Rs. 500 to Rs. 14,000 within four to five years. He has increased his land holding from 24 acres to 54 acres and installed a pumping set for irrigation. Land cultivation is a craze with all the young people who have got their education in the Ashram schools.

The Bhils living in the lap of nature and used to a vigorous outdoor life are generally sturdy and well-built. Even when they fall ill they would prefer to use their local herbs and medicines rather than take advantage of the medical facilities made available at the Health Centre at Posina. Mostly they suffer from malnutrition, skin diseases and V.D. As education is spreading to the younger generation they are taking to the modern system of

medicines in preference to their old traditional curative measures. The main cause of their malnutrition and low standard of living is over-population. Since polygamy is widespread, it is normal for the head of a family to have a progeny of about a score during his life time. One Bikha Ranchhor who is aged 90 years married four times and has got 65 direct descendants still alive. Another old man, Kalaji Hiraji in village Demti has 40 sons, grand-children and great-grandchildren. In view of the background, the Family Planning Centre attached to the Health Centre at Posina has a hard job to perform. But the lady Health Visitor in charge of the Centre informed me that the Ādivāsis, particularly the younger people are becoming conscious of the need for family planning and that about 70 families are trying to avail of the services and facilities offered by the Centre.

Education: The Secret of success

The secret of the rapid progress achieved by the Tribal Project lies in the fact that systematic efforts have been made to educate through various media the young as well as the old. The film has come in handy both for educational and recreational purposes. There has been such a pressing demand for what the tribals describe as 'Cine' that they have cheerfully constructed over 200 miles of Kacha roads in order that the cinema van could reach their village and give them a show.

Their exploitation at the hands of *Vohras* made them realize that unless they learnt arithmetic they would never get out of their clutches. Therefore, they joined in large numbers the 200 literary classes started by the Project with the help of teachers during the vacation. About 260 people became literate at these centres.

Shivirs for menfolk were held under a mango tree or near a well where the village leaders would stay in an improvised enclosure. Each one of them would bring along a wooden cot and 5 lbs of maize flour for his use during the stay in the camp. Discussions on various subjects like agriculture, Panchayaṭi Raj and Cooperative took place and they left the camp more enlightened.

It was the *Griha Sushobhan Shivirs* meant for practical education of the womenfolk that brought about a transformation in the village. The Gram Sevika collected all the tribal ladies under a tree and taught them how to prepare good meals, comb hair,

take bath, mend clothes and do other household jobs. The meals prepared by them were then served in a community lunch to all the participants. The camp lasted for 3 to 4 days at the end of which the look of the village was considerably changed. Ladies attending such camps carried lasting impressions with them and they have changed their mode of dress and ways of living for good.

Ashram type schools exist at Khed Brahma, Posina and Demti. Several primary schools have now been started in other villages also. The percentage of school-going children has gone up to 25% from 1% in 1956. A batch of 15 tribal boys who had passed the Matriculation Examination received Higher Education in Ahmedabad University on special scholarships arranged for them through the efforts of Chandubhai, then Project Officer. Four of them are today post graduates serving in responsible positions.

It will be of interest to point out that those boys and girls who have been at school show a marked change in their outlook, dress and behaviour. They are assuming leadership in all walks of life and the traditional tribal leaders who used to wield supreme powers in the days gone by, are now in an eclipse. The elections to Panchayati Raj bodies have precipitated this issue still further. A case in point is that of Shri Dolabhai Jwalabhai aged twenty-five, a young Sarpanch of village Nawa Mota and his wife. The young couple symbolizes the rising spirit of the Bhil community. Both Dolabhai and his wife have been at the Ashram school. Dolabhai became Sarpanch after defeating a candidate of the old school of thought. He is actively interested in all development and social welfare schemes. His wife has received one year's training at a Tailoring Class started by the Project for training women. She has given up the old fashioned ornaments and now puts on *Saris*. Utensils, clothes and other sundry things in her house are kept in a new and orderly way. There is Navajibhai Dawda, aged 26 years who has received his education at the Ashram school. He is today the Sarpanch of village Patadia and is a progressive farmer. All his children including the girls are at school. Maljibhai who belongs to an ordinary Bhil family is an M.L.A. He has read up to 7th standard at the Ashram School and had been serving as a teacher and Prachārak on behalf of the Bhil Sevā Maṇḍal. There are many more rising starts like them. The message of the C.D. programme has reached every

hamlet of the Project and there is little doubt that in the not too distant future, the Bhil community would be in the vanguard of the nation's progress.

(Panchayati Raj, May 1964, pp. 3 to 9).

RITUAL DECORATIVE ART

In recent years with the growing keenness to understand and learn the ancient folk arts of the country, attempts have been made to discover and revitalise the traditional arts. One such is the 'ritual decorative art'. As one looks upon this traditional feminine art, one sees the inspiring beauty expressing a vision of feelings of infinite moods of our womenfolk and a colourful strand of traditions filled with legends and myths, native romances and episodes, from the substance of the every day life of the community, fitted to the auspicious occasions that stand out in the flux of time and the seasons.

Though this folk art has drawn its inspiration from several sources, its motive force is the religious concept that the supernatural powers of the sun, moon, earth, fire and wind (Pancha Bhūtas) could be evoked through worship. The result was that their images were drawn and portrayed to honour them. In the course of time however the original magical qualities attached to these images were nearly forgotten, but the practice has been continued as a vague reminiscence of the original pattern.

These decorations are generally executed on a plane surface of the courtyard or on the floor of the house, main doorways and in puja rooms. The materials used in this folk art are simple and inexpensive. Powdered rice paste, white lime stone or chalk are used. The nimble fingers of the artist serve the purpose of a brush, the fingers moving smoothly over the floor executing a clear fresh freehand drawing. Though white is the accepted colour for ritual decorations, the ambitious artist however adds other colours to create beauty and originality.

Two classes of designs co-exist in ritual decorations—the decorative and the ceremonial. In the decorative, the designs are of varied type and depend on the clever imagination of the artist. Creepers, floral motifs and geometrical patterns are the usual ones. Decorative drawings play an important role on auspicious occasions like marriage, *grihapravesa,* birthday ceremonies etc.

Guests sit to a meal specially honoured by floor decorations under the plate on which the food is served. The artist does not necessarily follow the traditional designs here but uses her imagination in an unconventional way to create fresh designs. On the other hand in the ceremonial pattern the designs are traditional and are in keeping with the occasion. For example during 'Lakshmi Puja' in Bengal, which falls in the month of Aswin (Sept-Oct), an elaborate design in 'Alpana' is executed to honour the presiding deity Goddess Lakshmi: 'Charan' or the foot marks of Lakshmi, who is believed to enter the house on this day, form the important motif on the Alpana.

Sometimes the objective of the Alpana may be the promotion of rain, success of the harvest or the safety of the village from the epidemics. When the crops are ripening, a ritual is performed with the help of drawing a tree, which serves as a fertility symbol. In Bengal only three colours—white, yellow, and a kind of cocoa—are used. They are made up into a paste and drawn with forefingers.

In the South, the ceremonial design of Kolam consists of 'Shiv Peeth' which is drawn on Mondays, a 'Kalipeeth' drawn on Tuesdays, a 'Swastik' on Wednesday and Lakshmi kolam on Fridays Lotus, conch shells, and legendary birds form an important motif. The patterns are deftly traced out while the ground is still wet; twisting the powder into lines and curves and dots with thumb and forefinger. Coloured powders called "Panja varna podi" are used sometimes for special occasions and certain pujas which demand a special design.

The ceremonial design of the 'Chowkpujana' of Uttar Pradesh and 'Alpan' of Bihar depict scorpion, which is supposed to symbolise human suffering. It is used in their decoration to ward off evil influences.

In 'Sathia' of Gujarat, the profusion of colours, materials and designs is extravagant and fascinating. Besides brilliantly coloured powders, 'Sathia' is laid out in flower petals, in different kinds of dals, dyed rice and sago. During Divali and Navaratri festivals temple floors, courtyards in houses and even public institutions are bedecked with 'Sathia'. Groups of girls go round obligingly making 'Sathia' for their uninitiated friends, spending hours of leisure to make the neighbour's house as gay and bright as their own.

The Maharashtrian women make their Rangoli in geometrical pattern by first tracing the overall pattern with equidistant dots of white powder which are later on joined. Colour powder is filled in later to give an enticing look. The motifs are often drawn in miniature on brass plates which are used for 'araty' during pujas. In this case the outlines are filled in with tiny white beads held in place by a mixture of ghee, oil and kumkum.

In Rajasthan, 'Madana' imparts picturesque beauty to the Kuchcha ground washed with cowdung in crimson red, which is obtained by mixing 'Rati' (red earth found locally there). The obvious character of 'Madana' is its background which is of some dark colour.

While these types of ritual decorations are in vogue in all parts of the country, Malayali women do their ritual decorations in a different and interesting way. It is called Pool Kolam. On festive occasions like 'Onam', a model of gay flower bed is drawn. The outline is first drawn with white chalk powder and coconut husks on the outer courtyard of the main doorway. The designs are filled with several kinds of flours to produce as many different colours as possible and the whole kolam radiates a rare charm.

(Devi Krishnan in *'The Hindu'*, dated 21-2-65.

SEARCH FOR NEW REMEDIES FROM INDIAN PLANTS

India has a great diversity of climatic conditions ranging from extremely frigid to most tropical climates and its flora is as varied as its climatic conditions, presenting plants that grow at Alpine heights to those which grow in the arid zone. The earlier Ayurvedic classics have mentioned a little over 700 plants, many of which are held to possess extremely valuable medicinal properties. Later works belonging to a period after the 6th century A.D. have added more medicinal plants to the Ayurvedic Materia Medica.

In modern times, a considerable amount of spade-work has been done in the direction of survey and scientific study of Indian medicinal plants. The Botanical Survey of India too has been carrying out a systematic survey.

The first attempt to carry out a scientific evaluation of Indian medicinal herbs was made by the Government of Madras in 1916-18, which started a clinical assessment of the values of a large number of herbs used by Vaidyas and Hakims. A study was

carried out on 140 such plants in the Government General Hospital, Madras, by Dr. Koman, which confirmed the therapeutic usefulness of many of them. A notable contribution was made by Col. Sir R. N. Chopra, Director of the School of Tropical Medicine in Calcutta, who carried out pharmacological investigations on a large number of medicinal plants.

Intense Effort

Another well-known name is that of Dr. H. H. Sadiqui, who started chemical and pharmacological studies on a number of Indian medicinal plants in the Ayurvedic and Unani Tibbia College, Delhi. In fact, his work on *Ravuwolia serpentina Beuth ex Kurz,* inaugurated a period of intense effort to salvage the more important Indian medicinal plants. The discovery of Reserpine by CIBA Research Laboratories, Switzerland, and the demonstration of its value in the treatment of high blood pressure, attracted international attention to Indian medicinal plants.

After Independence, the Indian Council of Medical Research, the Council of Scientific and Industrial Research and Indian Council of Agriculture Research began to evince considerable interest in medicinal plants and set up many projects for carrying out scientific evaluation of their properties. The Central Drug Research Laboratory. Lucknow, and the Regional Research Laboratory, Jammu, were set up by the Council of Scientific and Industrial Research.

Special stress was laid on two aspects of research, the scientific and economic. Indian medicinal plants specially those described in the Ayurveda and Unani systems and employed by Vaidyas and Hakims were carefully examined with a view not only to salvaging as many of the valuable drugs as possible, but also for making India self-sufficient in its drug requirements. This effort was further intensified with the setting up of the Central Council of Ayurvedic Research in 1959.

Survey Units

During the Third Plan period, the Central Council of Ayurvedic Research, in collaboration with the Indian Council of Medical Research and other sister organisations, undertook the establishment of two Medicinal Plants Survey Units. One of these is at Hardwar and the other at Ranikhet, covering a large part of the Tehri-Garhwal and Kumaon Hills.

The Hardwar Unit has already carried out three surveys, in the course of which it was able to collect over 2,000 specimens including about a hundred plants described in Ayurveda. Both units are developing herbaria, museums and plant gardens for experimental cultivation. Pharmacognostical and phytochemical work is also in progress.

It is expected that similar survey units will be set up at the Post-Graduate Institute in Indian Medicine Banaras Hindu University Varanasi, and the Government Ayurvedic Research Institute. Trivandrum. Provision has been made in the Fourth Plan for setting up similar units in other States.

The Government of India recently sanctioned a scheme of research on certain selected plants under modern scientific methods for the benefit not only of Ayurveda, but for possible use in modern medicine. This scheme was prepared by the Central Council of Ayurvedic Research and the Indian Council of Medical Research. Known as the composite drug research scheme, it envisages an integrated type of investigation on various aspects of these plants—botanical including pharmacognostical, clinical, chemical and pharmacological. Ten research circuits have been set up, each comprising a botanical, including pharmacognostical unit, a clinical unit, a chemical unit and a unit for pharmacology.

The units, set up in different departments of some of the universities, hospitals attached to leading Ayurvedic colleges, and deparments of pharmacology in some of the leading medical colleges, have two components, an Ayurvedic team and a modern medical team. In the first instance, investigations have been undertaken on medicinal plants, the identity of which is a settled issue and which have acquired considerable clinical reputation through centuries. The Ayurvedic component of the clinical unit is to provide all the necessary background information and data.

The second and possibly the larger group of medicinal plants which constitute the main ingredients of a large number of compound preparations is to be taken up simultaneously for botanical identification, pharmacognostic study and clinical screening. The Vaidyas and Hakims will employ these plants in selected diseases, on the basis of their own principles. The modern medicine team will also examine these cases according to their methodology. Both teams are to make an assessment of the action of these plants keeping in view the claims made by the Ayurvedic or Unani systems. The medicinal plants which have been successfully screen-

ed clinically, are to be taken up for chemical and pharmacological investigation.

Provision has been made for ten more circuits in the Fourth Plan. The Ayurvedic medicinal plants survey units, referred to earlier, are to ensure sustained supply of authentic materials to various circuits.

Two of the important investigations now being carried out are on diabetes and smallpox. For diabetes, investigation is being carried out on *Saptarangi* (*Casearia esculenta* Roxb.) which is regarded as a cure for the disease. Wild banana seeds are said to be beneficial in the prevention and control of smallpox.

Promising Results

Promising results have been achieved in the investigation of *Girikarkata* (*Podophyllum hexandrum* Royle) for anticarcinogenic action. Large-scale cultivation of this plant has been started at various stations in northern India.

Some other plant materials which hold considerable promise as valuable remedies include *Jatamamsi* (*Nardostachys jatamansi* DC) and *Vacha* (*Acorus Calamus* Linn) which are being investigated for their anti-convulsive and tranquillising effects. For rheumatoid arthritis in particular, and the effect on sugar and fat metabolism in general, *Guggulu* (*Commiphora, mukul*—Hook ex-Stocks, Engl.) is now being studied. The action of *Asthi Samhar* (*Cissus quadrangularis* Linn.) on healing fractures and of *Bhallataka* (*Semicarpus anocardium* Linn f.) and *Rohitka* (*Tecomilla undulata*) on tissue growth is also under investigation.

These are a few examples of the nature of investigations being carried out on plant materials which hold considerable promise as valuable remedies. It is expected that an all-out scientific investigation of Indian medicinal plants will make available valuable remedies to science and suffering humanity.

Prof. Dwarakanath in *The Hindu*, 27-4-'65.

THE CHITRAGARS OF KINNAL

Kinnal is a small village of chitragars and weavers situated about seven miles from the town of Koppal, a railway station between Guntakal and Hubli. It is stated that Kinnal is one of the jagirs given to the great art-lover of Hyderabad, Salarjung, under whose patronage a group of master craftsmen lived at that time and flourished very well. The ancestors of these master crafts-

men are stated to have been associated with the artistic splendour of Vijayanagar Empire, as evidenced at Hampi. The Central Handicrafts Development Centre during the course of its study was able to find some of the old drawings and tracings of frescoes of Hampi in one of the houses of the hereditary master science craftsmen of the village.

Due to bad roads and transport difficulties, Kinnal village has remained isolated and external influence did not mar the pristine beauty of these crafts, to any great extent. All the same, one could see that the art is gradually falling a victim to modern influence. It is regrettable to find the descendants of the once famous masters living in utter poverty and need. The master craftsmen are struggling hard to find outlets for their artistic products and are trying to adopt the "Modern Indian" calendar art, to eke out their living.

When I visited one of the houses of the master craftsmen one of them proudly showed me a new piece of his latest work—Goddess Lakshmi (looking like a film star). When I asked him to show some pieces made by his ancestors he told me that they are of very old type not suitable to the present "modern taste". When I insisted he brought out one Siva and Parvati seated on Nandi. This immediately appealed to me and in fact it took me back to the period of past glory of Vijayanagar Empire and the work of the master chitragars of those days in our country. It is gratifying to note that even to-day we still have a few master craftsmen with their outstanding skill and workmanship.

This village has two types of work both mixed with the Mughal and Hindu art. Due to the patronage by the eminent art-lovers like Salarjung we find exact specimens of famous Nirmal furniture such as cradles palanquins, marriage asanas (which are still being sent to Rajasthan in large numbers for marriage occasions) and life-size wood carvings and lacquer toys in highly attractive designs. They use earth colours mostly and others enamel which leaves a smooth egg-shell finish on the products.

The Central Handicrafts Development Centre, an organisation of the All-India Handicrafts Board for technical development of handicrafts, has launched an intensive scheme for development with a view to removing the modern (calendar) influence and restore the traditional art of this village to its past glory.

P. Hariharan *'The Hindu'*, dated 27-9-64.

SECTION VIII: NOTES AND NEWS

23-9-1964. The Vyāsa Bhārata Folklore Festival Sadas was inaugurated at Kanchipuram by Maharaja Sri Jaya Chamaraja Wadiyar, Governor of Madras. The festival, the third organised under the direction of His Holiness Sri Sankaracharya of Kamakoti Pīṭham, was attended by distinguished Vedic scholars, pandits, researchers and Śivācaryas, besides a number of delegates. An exhibition of literature and sculptures formed part of the conference. Manuscripts and rare books were taken in procession on elephants from Sri Varadarāja temple to the special pandal near Sri Ekāmbareśwarar temple. Śrī Śankaracārya suggested that folk dances and dramas should be promoted by individuals during family gatherings and by public institutions. He also pleaded for the revival of car festivals in temples since they developed the spirit of oneness amongst members of all communities. Outlining the steps to promote the knowledge of the Āgamas, the Governor said an intense search for all the Āgama manuscripts should be instituted and arrangements made for their publication on critical lines. Not less important was the task of making a collection of all the *Sthalapurāṇas* of the temples and of explaining to the people the importance of the various shrines and their special features. The *arcakas* should be well trained in the Āgamic lore and *śivācāryas* and *sthapatis* should be encouraged. Above all, the people should be educated to keep the temples scrupulously clean. Śrī Śankarācārya explained the dominant role played by Villupāṭṭu, Burra kathā, Yakṣagāna and other folk arts in mass education. Dramas and cinemas by themselves were not evil forces but certain reforms were necessary in them. For instance, His Holiness said, only married couples should take the roles of husband and wife in the dramas. The plays should not contain any admixture of propaganda material. Cultural, religious, educational and historical subjects, as well as nature study could form the themes for the cinemas.

27-9-1964. At the Batik exhibition at the college of Arts and Crafts, Madras there was on display in the sculptural section a stylised modern art piece named "Prime". From a distance this figure of a woman looks like an usual metal statue but, on nearing it, one finds that the figure has been entirely fashioned on a two-dimensional metal sheet—a departure from the traditional three dimensional sculptures in bronze or stone Though metal sheets have been in use in ancient India for artistic purposes, the credit for reintroducing this trend in modern art forms goes to young Vidya Shankar, a student of the college taking training in metal sculpture. The statue has also been set against a background of ancient hieroglyphics, thereby offering an Indian touch to modern perspective.

15-10-1964. Five scholars, who came out successful in all parts in the graded examination in Veda Bhāshya, conducted under the auspices of the Śrī Kānchī Kāmakoṭi Pīthādhipati, Sri Jagadguru Śankarācārya at Kānchīpuram. Cash prizes ranging from Rs. 7,000 to 3,000 were awarded to each of them.

21-10-1964. A Hindu temple and a cultural centre where Indians can gather together and where Hindus among them can worship is proposed to be established in London at an estimated cost of £500,000.

There is so far no Hindu place of worship in Britain where all other eastern religions have their centres.

The project, which has the sanction of the Government of India, is being undertaken by the Indian Cultural Centre, a society formed in India, with the aim of providing a number of similar cultural centres for Indians overseas. The society's plans, according to Mr. G. D. Birla, who explained the project to journalists in London have aroused great interest not only in India but among overseas Indians who have already indicated willingness to provide financial and practical help. For the time being, the society will concentrate on the London centre but ultimately it hopes to have centres throughout the world at an estimated cost of £2,000,000.

Governing Body

The society's governing body under the chairmanship of Mr. S. R. Das, Vice-Chancellor of Visvabharati University, has amongst its members Dr. C. P. Ramaswami Aiyer, Vice-Chancellor, Annamalai University, Mr. M. P. Birla, Mr. G. L. Mehta and Mr. K. C. Pant, MP.

Preliminary plans and sketches of the proposed centre have been prepared in India, but untimately architects will be engaged in London to consult with their Indian colleagues and to produce the final plans, which will then be submitted for planning approval to the London County Council.

The centre will consist of a temple where Hindus may worship, where Hindu festivals will also be celebrated. It will also provide a venue for marriage ceremonies. Adjoining the temple will be an auditorium which will accommodate about 700 people together with a library and reading-rooms.

The society hopes to start the construction work next year.

21-10-64. The unpublished works of the 18th century Sanskrit dramatists are being taken up for editing by a research Fellow of the American Institute of Indian Studies, Dr. George T. Artola.

Dr. Artola, professor of Sanskrit and Comparative Philology at the American University of Hawaii in Honolulu, will spend a year in South India to undertake the editing of some of the yet unpublished comedy plays of Thirumala of Andhra Pradesh and a few satirical dramas of Tanjore origin.

During his previous visit to Madras in 1956, Dr. Artola took up and edited a few narratives from the Sanskrit literature.

He said that American Universities were taking special interest not only in South Asian studies which related to India, Pakistan, Ceylon, Nepal and Afghanistan but also in the regions of South-East Asia which covered Burma, Thailand, Indo-China, Malaysia, Indonesia and the Philippines.

The emphasis on South Asian studies, said Dr. Artola, is one of assimilation of the classical as well as the modern languages and of the humanities and social sciences of the ancient and the modern periods.

Referring to the American expression of its consciousness of India's historic importance in the modern world, the range of research and the acceleration given to publication of valuable works, Dr. Artola said: "This constitutes one of the new and significant modern developments in American education."

The other professorship in Sanskrit at the Hawaii University is held by Dr. Walter H. Maurer and he too is expected to come to India in September 1965, for similar research work.

October 1964. *Orient Occident,* Vol. VII, No. 5, carries an article containing a general review of the development of the scheme of regional cultural study grants given by Unesco and an evaluation of its achievement in the light of the aims and purposes of the Major Project. The following are excerpts from it: *India*: Knowledge of Indian music has been increased by two grantees from the West. As a result of her intensive comparative study undertaken during a year's stay in India, Miss Rose M. Renshaw, Profesor of the Faculty of Music, Montreal University, Canada, reports that the Music Faculty of Montreal University has enabled her to give a summer school course on parallels between rhythmic principles of Indian music and those of the polyphonic period in Western music; a similar course is planned in the curriculum of the Extension Department of McGill University. In addition, Miss Renshaw writes, 'both Universities have agreed to prepare tapes illustrating the modes of Gregorian music that are related to Indian scales, the gradual evolution of counterpoint and harmony, the characteristics of fuge, sonata, rondo, etc. These recordings will be presented to Benares University and the West Bengal Academy of Music in return for the reference material they so kindly provided for Canada'. Miss Renshaw reports that one result of her tour is the increased time on the network of the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation devoted to Indian music. She concludes that 'leading Canadian musicians have also shown a very healthy curiosity about Indian music. As they come with an open mind, they are not slow to appreciate artistry of India's finest musicians'.

An intensive field study of Indian folk music was made by Mrs. M. T. Domine Datta, of Belgium, Assistant of the Institut Francais d'Indologie of Pondicherry, India. Mrs. Datta spent several months in the Himalaya mountains, recording and adapting to Western notation the traditional music and ballads of the bards of Kumaon, who live many miles north of the district of Naini Tal, in Uttar Pradesh. In addition to linguistic and folkloric field studies and recordings, Mrs. Datta attempts to interpret her research for musicologists and for the greater public. Her report, further, gives a detailed picture of the ways in which the field worker in music must become a 'member of the village' to catch the full flavour of the local customs, festivals, songs and ballads and to record them for more 'sophisticated' ears. Following her field work, Mrs. Datta continued consultations with musicological and oriental scholars in Paris and Brussels, before returning to the Himalayas to continue her studies.

Besides his study at libraries in New Delhi, Mr. Peter Munz, Associate Professor of History at the Victoria University of Wellington, New Zealand, derived benefit from making innumerable acquaintances and spending much time in personal discussion with a host of people, prominent in politics, anthropology, history, economics, journalism, etc. Also, he spent much time in accumulating material for a study on the influence of religion on Indian social development. 'As a result of my study in India', he reports, 'I was able to complete the book I had been working on for several years and I have been able to accomplish the main purpose of my grant. The book deals mainly with the comparative study of mythology and of metaphysical and religious ideas and I hope to have made a modest contribution in it to the furtherance of a genuine dialogue between East and West'. 'Apart from the usual round of radio talks and lectures on India I am taking part in a teaching programme of Indian history in my University. This sort of thing is only just beginning to develop in New Zeland and there are very few people so far interested in Asian studies. My knowledge of India which has been furthered by my tenure of the Unesco grant is of very great help in this respect'.

Europe and U.S.: In the course of a six months' tour in Switzerland, Netherlands, the United Kingdom, France and Italy, Mr. T. E. Gairola, in charge of the Conservation Laboratory of the National Museum in New Delhi, was enabled to improve his knowledge of Western art, of which he is thus in a position to offer a truer image in India; he met the most eminent museologists of the aforesaid countries and did research work in the laboratories of the principal Western museums, so as to be able to perfect the service for which he is responsible in N. Delhi and thereby ensure a better conservation of the works of art in his charge. The article analyses the results achieved under several heads, and concludes with a numerical analysis with very informative tables of the execution of the grant scheme during the eight years of its operation.

1-11-64: A new Buddhist gallery, an extension of the existing gallery of sculpture from Amarāvatī — has been organised at the Madras Museum, Madras and is being thrown open to the public on November 2, simultaneously with a special exhibition being organised to mark the inauguration of the campaign for care of monuments by the Chief Minister of Madras, Mr. Bhaktavatsalam, on that day. The new gallery consists of several miniature-scale models of monuments from Nagarjunakonda and original specimens of antiquities such as beads, necklaces, etc., from Amarāvatī, Sankaram and Peddamudiyam, dating back to the neolithic period. The small-scale models were recently acquired from Nagarjunakonda, while other original collections have been taken from the reference collections of the Madras Museum, which have never before been exhibited to the public.

21-11-64: Over five hundred very small gold beads collected in an earthern pot, were recently discovered by the Gujarat Archaeology Department while engaged in clearing operations at a mound at the Harappan site at Rosadi, about 55 kms. from Rajkot. The beads are believed to be part of a gold necklace. The remains have already been established to be four thousand years old.

29-11-64: A world-wide drive to raise seven million dollars for saving the Abu Simbel temples is under way while 1,200 workers from five countries are working feverishly on the mammoth six-year project. The 3,200 year old temples, located in the Nubian region of Southern Egypt, must be moved to higher ground to prevent their being submerged by the lake now forming behind the Aswan High Dam. The operation will cost in all 36 million dollars.

6-12-64: The XXXVIII International Eucharistic Congress which commenced its session on 28th November at Bombay concluded to-day. About 8000 foreign and 80,000 Indian visitors attended the Congress. Pope Paul VI took part in the concluding stages of the Congress. It was a historic occasion when a secular nation played host to the Pope; several cardinals and clergymen witnessed the thanksgiving to Christ. Prime Minister Lal Bahadur Shastri observed: "The Pope is not only the religious head of Catholics, but also the head of an independent State. Indians must not only welcome him, but show him every consideration and respect. We must show our traditional sense of tolerance to all faiths." The theme of the Congress was "The Eucharist and the New Man", and the call for dedication in the service of humanity was heard in several sermons and seminars, from the pulpit of consecrated churches and the dais of meeting halls, through exhibitions of art and in music and ballet programmes. In the New Man Exhibition there were "not only sacred relics, vessels, vestments, stained glass windows, altar pieces and carvings but paintings on the Christian theme by Indian painters such as Ara, Jamini Roy and Sabavala and a whole series of icons reproduced from Russian and Byzantine originals. Another impressive item organized was the ballet "No Greater Love" produced by the Sanskrit scholar and musician Father George Proksch. A crowded programme marked the Pope's brief stay in Bombay and wherever His Holiness went people of all faiths gave him a rousing welcome. The Papal Legate, His Eminence Gregory Cardinal Agagianian inaugurated the Congress.

11-12-64: The art critic to the *Statesman* Calcutta writes on our exhibition of painting at the Artistry House, Calcutta: If the holding of a mixed exhibition of modern art and traditional Indian-style paintings by the Indian Society of Oriental Art does not seem strange, you will find several praiseworthy individual works at the current show at Artistry House, Calcutta. This curious mixture in its last exhibition made us wonder whether the Society now believes that coexistence in art is as much a necessity as it is among nations. Formed in 1907 it always endeavoured to awaken India to its artistic heritage and to oppose Western influences.

A study of some of the best exhibits show the efforts of senior painters to handle new media and subjects and those of young hopefuls to use traditional techniques and themes. There are a few interesting paintings from other States. Kalyan Sen, Biren De, Gopen Roy and Ardhendo Banerjee are represented by commendable works. The Society seems to have made a special effort to obtain paintings from new artists.

The modern section calls attention to the works of Kumkum Munshi, Barin Roy, Arundhati Roy Chowdhury and Shamasree Ghosh, some of which have already been seen in other exhibitions. Samar Bhowmik has well ab-

sorbed folk compositional elements in a painting entitled "Kirton". A few artists have been inspired by the style of Gaganendranath Tagore. Among them mention should be made of Asis Pradhan, Rabindra Paul and Niranjan Tarafdar. The painters who have acquired a good grasp of their medium include Pravat Goswami, Bithi Ghosh, Manjulika Kumar, Lakshmichanda Kapoor, Renu Roy Chowdhury and Maya Roy.

13-12-64: Soviet archaeologists have made important finds in underground temples of a Buddhist monastery including Sanskrit inscriptions in a cave in Uzbekistan, biggest Soviet Central Asian Republic.

16-12-64: The 'Maharashtra Government has sanctioned a scheme of awarding two prizes of Rs. 1,500 each to the authors of Marathi books for adults in each of the categories of novel; short story; poetry; biography, autobiography and memoirs; essays, personal essays and travelogue; philosophy, history and social sciences; literary crticism, language and grammar; and sciences. It has also decided to award two prizes of Rs. 1,500 each to the authors of the best Marathi books for children in each of the categories of poetry, nursery rhyme, short story, fairy tale and folk tale; biography; and general knowledge, hobbies and sciences. The books should have been published during October 1, 1963, to September, 30, 1964. The competition is open to all authors and publishers in or outside Maharashtra.

25-12-64: The exquisite blending of colours and the rich variety of Indian textiles have greatly impressed Dr. Daniel F. Rubindela Borbolla, Director of the National Museum of Handicrafts, Mexico, who is in Delhi on a short visit. It was with a view to promoting closer intellectual and cultural contacts with South East Asia that the Bureau of Cultural Affairs of the Mexican Government launched an annual programme of mutual exchange of veterans in various fields. Dr. Borbolla is the eighth Mexican to visit India in this connection. The All India Handicrafts Board is getting together a comprehensive collection of Indian handicrafts for Dr. Borbolla to take with him in exchange for a collection of products of Mexican handicraft which will arrive here in about two months. "I have never felt so much at home in any other country as when I talked to your craftsmen", said Dr. Borbolla, who pointed out that India and Mexico had much in common. The common men in India and Mexico led almost parallel lives and yet they knew so little of each other. More than anything else what Mexico shared with India was its rich art traditions, Mexican pottery is Mexican art at its best. "We have about 400 villages that make pottery. My son is also training to be a potter," Dr. Borbolla said. "I have not seen much of what they call modern art, but the little that I have seen goes to prove that the Indian artist is trying to blend the traditional with the modern", he added.

27-12-64: The New Shakespeare Company, which concluded its visit with performances in Calcutta from December 19 to 27, has come to India in the course of a 25,000 mile tour organised by the British Council as part of its Shakespeare quarter-centenary celebrations. In India it also gave performances in Bombay, Bangalore, Madras, Chandigarh and Patna. In Delhi, while the British players were performing Shakespeare's plays to crowded houses, some 30 distinguished scholars and state experts from different parts

of India met in the capital for a seminar on Shakespeare arranged jointly by the Sahitya Akademi and the Sangeet Natak Akademi.

The seminar was inaugurated by the President of India, Dr. S. Radhakrishnan, on December, 4, and for the next four days the participants discussed the main topics selected for the occasion: "What Shakespeare Means to Me", "Teaching of Shakespeare", "Production of Shakespeare Plays" and "Shakespeare in Indian Languages". The seminar, arranged to mark the quarter-centenary, was part of a programme which included a production of *King Lear* in Urdu and *A Midsummer Night's Dream* in Bengali.

27-12-64: Every year in June three huge "paintings" cover the entire 15,000 square feet of the plaza in front of the Town Hall of Orotave, a city in Tenerife in the Canary Islands. That is from the Town Hall balcony above the plaza, they *look* like oil paintings but are in fact, made completely of coloured sands and burnt cypress clippings.

Called sand carpets, they are created for the city's great annual celebrations held in June. First, the designs are drawn on sheets of paper and these are then traced on the paving of the plaza. Then starts the long task of filling in the many sections of the pattern with the coloured sands.

Just as a painter has his palette with various coloured paints, so does the sand artist have numbers of boxes each filled with a different coloured sand, or cypress clippings, dipping into each as required.

It is a job calling for great skill and patience and extreme care, for the colours must be blended accurately to give the finished work the appearance of a painting — and these men with the sand boxes are true artists who take a great pride in their work.

The sands come from the slopes of a volcanic mountain in the interior and the usual colours are black, white, grey, yellow, green, brown, terracotta and magenta.

31-12-64: Dr. P. V. Rajamannar inaugurated a seminar on "Traditions and Progress" at the University Centenary Building, Madras. The gradual disappearance of the caste system, the people's willing choice of a democratic Government and the lifting of the taboo on foreign travel among the Hindus, he said, were all but a few illustrations to show that traditions had never hampered progress in this country. Dr. A. Lakshmanaswami Mudaliar, Vice-Chancellor of the Madras University, and President of the India International Centre (Madras Branch), sponsors of the seminar presided. Dr. Mudaliar said a blind imitation of the West did not cannote progress as the worth of a nation depended on the moral and intellectual traditions rather than on a material progress.

January 1965: Sangīta Kalānidhi Dwaram Venkataswamy Naidu, the veteran violinist (See *Bulletin*, 1958, p. 171) passed away and in his death Karnatic music has lost a brilliant traditionalist.

January 1965: At the instance of the Kerala University the Oriental Manuscripts Library attached to the University tape records the traditional

recitation of the Vedas in order to preserve for posterity the pristine quality of accent and intonation in the authentic recitation of the Vedas.

January 1965: His Highness Ramavarma Parikshit Thamparān, the last ruling Mahārāja of the erstwhile state of Cochin passed away at the age of 88. He was a great Sanskrit scholar and he had many works like Prahlāda Charitram, Rādhā Mādhviyam to his credit.

6-2-65: Chintamon Kar's exhibition of sculptures, at the Fine Arts Gallieries, New Delhi is his first in many a year, and if for nothing else two items in it make it well worth a visit. These are Three Figures and Ondanies (water spirits) both in vitrified terracotta. Three figures is a perfect ballet piece; it has the same soul churning or fanning movement. Similar is the horizontally laid Ondanies, a beautiful, undulating, spiralling charm. A feeling of volumes and mass permeates Kar's many satisfying Odalisques. These keep growing and billowing before a steady gaze. As sculpture they are quite in line with the contemporary styles, streamlined and polished, without however being slick.

6-2-65: A threeday Vishwa Sanskrit Sammelan conference of world Sanskrit scholars — for the propagation of Sanskrit language, was inaugurated in the Kumbh mela area by Mr. Biswanath Das, Governor of UP at Allahabad. Representatives from different Universities in India and Sanskrit scholars from Nepal, France, Canada and the USA attended the Sammelan. Dr. Kailash Nath Katju, former Chief Minister of Madhya Pradesh, was in the chair. The Governor said that Sanskrit should mean and imply not only "Sahitya" and "darshan" but should include ancient parallel systems of science and technology. Pleading for the revival of these ancient parallel systems, Mr. Das said the Indian language, literature and culture could not be complete unless these ancient systems were revived. Nor could India contribute anything to world culture, unless these systems were revived. The Governor stressed the need of studying Indian system of jurisprudence, which was the oldest system in the world and said that he was glad that Varanaseya Sanskrit Viswavidyalaya had taken to compile the ancient systems of Indian jurisprudence.

20-2-65: The Madhya Pradesh Kala Parishad, a Government sponsored Academy of Fine Arts, has decided to organise divisional exhibitions of art and sculpture at four centres of the State. The exhibitions are proposed to be opened shortly at Gwalior, Indore, Jabalpur and Raipur.

20-2-65: A detailed scheme for providing social security to dramatists, musicians and artistes by way of old age pension, provident fund and insurance is being prepared by the Ministry of Education.

23-2-65: "Indian Amateurs are making worthwhile and praiseworthy efforts to foster theatre art throughout India", observed Dr. Jordan Y. Miller, an authority on American University Theatre. While addressing the students of the Madras Nāṭya Sangh at Padma Seshadri Bala Bhavan, Madras, he said he witnessed a spurt of activities in stagecraft in Madras and Bombay which augured well for the future of the dramatic art. He suggested that Indian drama groups stage, in addition to their own repertoire, classics and comedies of western countries. U.S. Universities, he said, offer courses

in all aspects of theatre art. Many colleges have fully equipped theatres, and students produce and direct most of the plays. He expressed the hope that the teaching of drama and its allied subjects will soon be introduced in Indian Universities.

25-2-65: Dr. S. I. Tulaev, Head of the Department of Eastern Art, Institute of History of Arts, Ministry of Culture USSR, said at Madras that he was greatly impressed with the Indian art. Speaking at a reception got up by the Indian Council for Cultural Relations, the Professor said the classical Indian dance and drama won the appreciation of the Russian people. He said that some time ago, a crude image of Sri Lakshmi and Sri Narayana on the Garuda was discovered by a Russian farmer while ploughing his field. This image should have come from India in the 12th century. There were many similarities in the art and culture of the two nations. The 66 year old Russian authority on Indian art said he was planning to disseminate knowledge of Indian art through stories, that he had just finished a history of Indian art from ancient to modern times, and was engaged in writing a book on Indian bronzes. Both these books are in Russian.

1-3-65: One hundred paintings and drawings by six Indian Artists were on show at the Commonwealth Institute in London recently. The Artists whose works were displayed are Avinash Chandra, Francis Newton Souza, Mohan Balakrishna Samant, Vasudeo S. Gaitonde, M. Fida Hussain, and Tyeb Mehta. They all have painted and exhibited outside their own country, and have come under Western and international influences. Nearly half of the paintings on show were by Avinash Chandra, whose magnificent fibreglass murals at the India Tea Centre in Oxford Street have already won acclaim in London. Reviewing the exhibition, Frederick Laws, art critic of *The Guardian*, said that Avinash Chandra was a "bold and vigorous painter with a fair range of techniques for the expression of things literally seen and symbolic vision." Mr. W. G. Archer, who is in charge of the Indian art section of the Victoria and Albert Museum, London, and who wrote the introduction to the exhibition catalogue, said of Avinash Chandra: "His pictures, with the ardent colours, taut rhythms and poetic images, are perhaps the strongest proof we have that Indian painting can be vitally modern.... These very qualities remain deeply and traditionally Indian." "Souza's pictures," said Mr. Archer, "have often a fantastic grandeur.... His pictures could hardly be confused with those of any other artists, Western or Indian." The exhibition attracted considerable attention among the art critics of London's leading dailies. They agreed that whatever effect Western influence may have had, the artists' works remained unmistakably national in flavour. *The Times* critic said: "The artists remain distinct in personality, and often enough show a sensuous quality which seems to indicate that the memory of Indian tradition, voluptuous, poetic, rhythmic, has not been effaced."

2-3-1965. Eight painters and two sculptors were presented the 1965 awards at a function held at New Delhi by the Lalit Kala Akademi, New Delhi. The painters who received awards were Mr. Krishen Khanna for "Window into Winter", Mr. K. G. Subramaniam for "Studio", Mr. Tyeb Mehta for "Figure of a woman", Mr. Ramnik Bhavsar for "Painting II", Mr. R. S. Bisht for "Cityscape III" Mr. Badri Narayan for "The Family", Mr. Bal

Chhabda for "The graces" and Mr. Jivan Adalja for "The Dark well". The paintings were all in oil. Selections of paintings and sculptures for the award were made from among a total of 1,742 exhibits by 765 artists for the National Exhibition of Art—1965. A selection of 197 paintings, 42 drawings and graphics and 45 sculptures by 225 artists was on display at the exhibition which was inaugurated here today by Prof. Bendra. The selection and Judging Committee for the National Exhibition of Art, at its meeting held here to consider the awards withheld the gold plaque for the second year in succession "as it was difficult to select only one piece of work from among ten award winning exhibits".

6-3-1965. Lovers of folk-music in Delhi were regaled by the recital of the Toni Goth Sextet and the Roepfi Trio at Sapru House early this week. The programme was organised under the auspices of the Max Muller Bhavan and the Delhi Music Society.

The Toni Goth Sextet which has already gained international popularity was formed in Toni Goth in 1956. This ensemble is not only the founder but also the main group of the Munich Society for Folk-music, Songs and Dancing. It comprises non-professional artistes who devote their spare time to their traditional folk-music.

The Roepfi Trio is likewise one of the most popular ensembles in the whole of Germany. Their special way of singing and the extremely pure intonation for folk-music puts them far above the other singing groups.

6-3-1965. The 4th International Film Festival will be held in Moscow from July 5 to 20. National Cinema Organisations, prominent directors and actors, representatives of foreign distributors, and film journalists—in short all the cinema folk of the world are being invited to take part in the Moscow film forum. Each country may enter one full length feature film and one short in the competition. The feature films will be shown at the Kremlin Palace of Congresses, and the shorts at the Central Cinema House. There will be two international juries—one for feature films and the other for shorts. The winning films will be awarded gold and silver prizes and honorary diplomas.

10-3-1965. In the Information Bulletin of the German Democratic Republic Vol. 10, No. 3, Prof. W. Ruben writing on Sanskrit Studies in the G. D. R. observes: In the GDR most of the young Indologists have specialised in the investigation of modern India; but also Sanskritology, to which Germany made an important contribution during the last 150 years, continues in all five Universities of the GDR—at the moment predominantly in the old style. Apart from this traditional Sanskritology in Berlin a new type begins to evolve. What must be known most urgently about ancient India if our people are to understand and assist modern India in her progressive development. Such an analysis is only possible if we know the ancient history as the basis of modern conditions. In the field of literature it is for instance an important task to show that the modern Indian realism (in analogy with the European) refers in its criticism of society in a peculiarly religious way to the realistic literature of ancient India, as we find it in Buddhist Jātakas, in the poetry of Bhartṛhari, in the drama Mricchakaṭika, and in

parts of the big Epics. Equally the humanism of Tagore can be followed back at least till Kālidāsa. In the field of religion and morals it can be shown that from Buddha to Gandhi there is an unbroken line of manifold, important, antiorthodox, and popular reform movements with more or less open political character. These are a few examples of which themes are being investigated by our scholars. Some of their efforts have already been printed, others are being prepared. These contributions make evident the new trend in Sanskrit studies in the GDR and will no doubt further better understanding between the two nations.

11-3-1965. Mrs. John F. Kennedy, wife of the late U..S. President, was among those attending a private opening of an exhibition of Indian miniature paintings at Cambridge, Massachusetts. The exhibit, previewed Tuesday night at the Fogg Art Museum of Harvard University, comprises some 90 paintings from north-west and central India from the 15th century. The exhibition of Indian miniatures, according to the Fogg Museum, brings out the relationship among paintings from three main schools of art—Mughal, Rajasthani and Pahari. Mr. Galbraith, now a Professor of Economics at Harvard University, is writing a book on Indian painting in collaboration with the Indian authority, Professor M. S. Randhawa.

11-3-1965. The Nehru memorial exhibit at New York, honouring India's late Prime Minister was opened on January 27 by Vice-President Hubert H. Humphrey in ceremonies attended by a distinguished gathering including Mrs. John F. Kennedy, wife of the late U.S. President, Mrs. Indira Gandhi, and top American and United Nations officials. The exhibit contained several hundred photographs of the late Indian Prime Minister, many never before seen publicly, as well as papers and memorabilia. Most of the commentary is taken from Mr. Nehru's own writings.

11-3-1965. President Johnson is asking Congress to establish a National Foundation on the Arts and Humanities to make the fruits of cultural achievements available to all Americans. Mr. Johnson submitted to the House of Representatives and the Senate a bill which would authorise 10 million dollars in first-year grants and loans to a wide range of cultural activities. It would also authorise another 10 million dollars in federal matching funds for equal amounts raised by private sources. "No government can call artistic excellence into existence". Mr. Johnson told Congress in a statement, adding: "But government can seek to create conditions under which the arts can flourish; through recognition of achievements, through helping those who seek to enlarge creative understanding, through increasing the access of our people to the works of our artists, and through recognising the arts as part of the pursuit of American greatness." Under the President's bill, the foundation would contain three parts: a National Endowment for the Arts, a National Endowment for the Humanities, and a Federal Council on the Arts and the Humanities.

15-3-1965. The People of Britain as well as visitors from many countries overseas have had the opportunity this month of seeing a wide variety of Indian handicrafts. These have been on display in the international section of the Ideal Home Exhibition, which opened in London on March 2 and will continue until almost the end of the month. Besides traditional pro-

ducts, the Indian display includes engineering goods, bicycles, refrigerators, and stainless-steel ware. Another London exhibition—the five-day International Carpet, Linoleum and Floor Covering Fair held early in the month—featured the products of Indian carpet-makers. One firm not only displayed a variety of colourful carpets, but had in its stand a weaver from Banaras demonstrating the skilful art of carpet-making. Apart from being displayed at exhibitions and fairs, Indian handicrafts are on sale in a number of British cities. In London, the newly-opened Commonwealth Crafts Centre has a representative selection. Described as "a most exciting venture", the Centre serves not only as a shop-window for the traditional crafts of Commonwealth countries but also as a whole-sale distribution centre for handicraft shops all over Britain. A single contribution of £500 entitles a Commonwealth country to a seat on the Centre's board and to have its handicrafts displayed for sale. The manager of the Centre, Mr. Chandra De, who comes from Calcutta, said: "There is a great demand for this type of craft in London. We are hoping to expand both our range and our premises in the future".

16-3-1965. Mr. R. Venkataraman, Madras Minister for Industries, inaugurated an exhibition of low priced Indian editions of American University textbooks at the Children's Theatre, Madras; he complimented the United States for her assistance which made it possible for everyone to profit by the availability of valuable publications at reduced cost.

20-3-1965. The Museums in Education Exhibition assembled by the British Council in London was on view at the Centenary Exhibition Hall, Government Museum, Egmore, between 20 and 22 March. The exhibition, which has been assembled at the invitation of the Museums Association of India, consisted of twenty panels covering the salient features from among the 800 museums in Britain. Panels depicted museums which had their origins in the private collections of the wealthy, or in the collections formed by the Natural History and Antiquarian Societies of the 19th century, and folk museums where arts and crafts, customs and industries of the people or the community are preserved.

20-3-1965. Prime Minister Lal Bahadur Sastri inaugurated the Andhra Pradesh Agricultural University at Rajendranagar. The Agricultural University, a nucleus of which was in operation from the beginning of this academic year at Rajendranagar, about ten miles from Hyderabad, is one of seven established in recent years in India on the pattern of the land-grant colleges of the United States. A U.S. land-grant institution, Kansas State University, is assisting the new university with technical assistance under a programme of the United States Agency for International Development.

27-3-1965. Mr. M. Bhaktavatsalam, Chief Minister of Madras, inaugurated at Madras an exhibition of contemporary abstract water-colours by eminent American artists at the Government College of Arts and Crafts at Madras. Dr. Franklin, the American Consul General expressed the hope that the pictures, works of influential Americans in their field, will capture the inner mind and will be an object of some inspiration and thought. Dr. K. C. S. Paniker, Principal of the college, proposed a vote of thanks, and said that art is practiced widely through various media in the United

States and there is a constant flow of new ideas. Abstract expressionism, the approach used by all of the artists in this watercolour exhibition, is one of several approaches now being developed in the United States and other Western countries. While still experimenting, abstract expressionists are highly skillful technicians thoroughly conversant with their craft. They are attempting to exploit the potentialities of their craft to the fullest. Indian artists, who, as artists, must find their own artistic directions, will nevertheless benefit greatly from observing the best of what is being done in other countries.

5-4-1965. Two U.S. scientists left Washington on a three-month exploration in the Himalayas for ornamental plants that can be introduced into the United States. The palnt explorers, joined by S. P. Mital, botanist at the Indian Agricultural Research Institute, will collect specimens in eastern Nepal, West Bengal and possibly Sikkim. Most of the exploration will be done on foot at heights of 8,000 to 16,000 feet. The exploratory trip is the ninth to be sponsored by the Agricultural Research Service of the U.S. Department of Agriculture and Longwood Foundations, Inc. of Pennsylvania. The Indian Agricultural Research Institute is cooperating in the project.

6-4-1965. Two Principals of women's colleges in South India are currently on a tour of the United States visiting 13 American colleges under the U.S. India Women's College Exchange Programme.

11-4-1965. The Government of India has selected 47 candidates for the award of scholarships in cultural fields during 1964-65. The scholarship is of the value of Rs. 250/- per month and is given for a period of two years, with a provision for extension. The awards are made for Hindustani and Karnatic music; Rabindra Sangeet; Folk song; Western music; Kathak; Bharat Natyam; Kathakali; Drama; Painting and Sculpture.

15-4-1965. A stage treat out of the ordinary is in store for theatre lovers in Delhi and a number of other cities in India in the next few weeks. Distinguished stage personality Emlyn Williams, costumed as Charles Dickens, will present a dramatic reconstruction of some of the great novelist's own public performances of his work. As actor, playwright and director—often in all three capacities simultaneously—Emlyn Williams has served the theatre for 30 years. He began his series of oneman appearances a decade ago. Bringing to life some of Dickens' remarkable characters—and looking like the novelist to the last whisker—Emlyn Williams has played to full houses not only in New York, London and at the Edinburgh Festival but across whole continents, including North America and Australia. Now on a three-month Eastern tour organized by the British Council, he is giving 46 solo performances in 10 countries, including India. ..

16-4-1965. At a function to celebrate the release of a Lincoln commemorative stamp, Dr. Albert B. Franklin, the U.S. Consul General at Madras thanked the Government of India and the Indian Postal Department for the beautiful gesture in issuing the Lincoln stamp on the 100th death anniversary of the great leader. Mr. S. R. Bhashyam, the Postmaster General, Madras, who participated in the function, presented a copy of a commemoration album to Consul General Franklin, and another to Frank P. Coward,

University Programme Officer, U.S.I.S., Madras. He said it is a proud privilege for the Indian Postal Department to honour Abraham Lincoln, who fought for democracy and racial equality.

20-4-1965. Eight professors and 19 graduate students from Universities across the United States will do research and study in South Asia and Near East on U.S. government fellowships. Fourteen other professors and 61 graduate students have been awarded U.S. government Fellowships for research and study in other areas. The fellowships are financed under the Mutual Education and Cultural Exchange Act—the socalled Fulbright Hays Act. They are designed to improve the competence of present and potential teachers of nonwestern area studies and related modern foreign languages. Five of the professors will go to India. They are Dr. Edward C. Dimock, University of Chicago; Dr. George Gardona, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia; Dr. Andree F. Sjoberg, University of Texas, Austin; Dr. Robert E. Frykenberg and Dr. Richard H. Robinson, University of Wisconsin, Madison. They are with the South Asian language and area centres of their respective institutions.

25-4-1965. A vast undersea valley—600 miles long and up to 2 miles wide—has been discovered by American scientists beneath the Indian ocean. Located in the Andaman Sea between the northern tip of Sumatra and Narcondam Island, south-west of Burma, the valley is buried one to three miles under the sea. It is surrounded by towering mountain peaks, the highest rising 12,000 feet above the valley. The discovery was made by oceanographers of the Coast and Geodetic Survey of the U.S. Department of Commerce during a voyage last year by the survey's ship "Pioneer." The American vessel was one of those participating in the International Indian Ocean Expedition (IIOE), sponsored by the inter-governmental Oceanographic Commission of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation (UNESCO).

26-4-1965. The Maharashtra Government has taken praiseworthy effort to promote the growth of the various aspects of the cultural life of the people. The State has a rich tradition in art and culture and many have been the scholars and artists who have left their mark. In order to encourage literary activities, the Government established a State Board for Literature and Culture, two years ago and within its short existence it has made its presence felt. One of its major efforts is to compile a general encyclopaedia in Marathi, called 'Vishwakosha'. A separate unit for this work has been set up at Wai in Satara district on the road to Mahabaleshwar from Poona—a place with a tradition of Sanskrit scholarship. Another important work is the compilation of history of Maharashtra in five volumes of 500 pages each. The two volumes on the 'ancient' and the 'Maratha' periods are expected to be published soon. A scheme for the survey of various dialects of Marathi was sanctioned in 1962. The Board has also so far published one book on eugenics, two on statistics and two on homeopathy. A laudable decision of the Board is to translate classics from other languages in order to enrich Marathi literature. The translation of the Indian classic "Rise of Maratha power" by the late Justice M. G. Ranade was published last year. The first volume of 500 pages of the translation of the Mahabharata covering

the Adi and Sabha parvas is under print and will be released towards the end of this year. The Board also pays publication grants to individual scholars and established research institutions. It disbursed grants amounting to Rs. 44,600, Rs. 65,415 and Rs. 97,080 during 1961-62, 1962-63 and 1963-64. This has helped publication of over 100 worthy books. The Government has also given substantial assistance to literary institutions like the Sahitya Parishad of Poona, Nagpur and Bombay. An *ad hoc* grant of Rs. 10,000 was also sanctioned to the reception committee of the Marathi Sahitya Sangh for its session held in Goa last year. On the occasion of tercentenary of Sri Tukaram Maharaj five years ago, the Government decided to publish a popular edition of authentic text of the *Abhangas* of this saint. The work was undertaken and completed by the late Mr. P. M. Lad, a noted Oriental scholar and Secretary to the Union Government. He also wrote the Tukaram Gatha. Encouraged by this, the Government has planned to bring out editions of works of other eminent saints like Sri Dhyaneshwar, Namdeo, Eknath and Ramdas to be made available at reasonable price. The Government appointed a State Committee, under the chairmanship of Dr. N. N. Kailas, Deputy Minister for Education, to chalk out a programme for the centenary of the late Mr. Hari Narayan Apte. The Government has so far given *ad hoc* grants of Rs. 4,000 to literary institutions for their expenses for organising the centenary programme. The Government has also under consideration the establishment of a Directorate of Arts. It is the intention of the Government to reorient art education in the State right from the primary stage to make it extensive and purposeful. With this end in view, pay scales of art teachers are being brought on a par with other technical personnel.

SECTION IX: REVIEWS

RAJAVIDYA: (ed. by Prof. R. Bhaskaran, Professor of Politics and Public Administration, University of Madras, price Rs. 4/-).

The Rāja Vidyā is the organ of the Rājanīti pariṣad, a registered association of teachers of Political Science in the Southern universities; it is designed to be useful not only to students and teachers of Politics but to scholars in general and contains undoubtedly useful information as well as thought-provoking essays, reviews, 'abstracts and extracts', etc. The very first issue of the journal set the norm which is very high and there is a deliberate endeavour to avoid what may be called 'low brow.'

In the first issue, Prof. Kini's paper on 'Public Opinion' is critical of the relevance of the techniques of Satyagraha and fasting to the requirements of liberal democratic institutions; an 'optimistic' view, on the other hand, is provided by Mr. Iqbal Narain who discovers the emergence of a new moral leadership in the Panchāyatī Rāj and the community development programmes.

The second issue begins with the first bunch of anthology of 'literary references in Tamil to Socio-Political ideas and institutions' by Dr. N. Subrahmanian of the Department of Indian History, University of Madras; this collection relates to the 'Paḻamoḻi 400'. This effort enhances the value of the journal considerably for it seeks to achieve a desideratum which has so far not been attempted. Mr. J. W. Spellman's views on 'some aspects of research methods', spotlighting certain current perversions of recent history are free from equivocation, though couched in somewhat blunt language; but there can be no objection to any of the sentiments expressed by him and such plain speaking one feels is occasionally called for. Mr. G. V. Balachandran's paper on 'Medical Sociology' deals with a currently less familiar field to study and is exhaustive and scholarly.

The two issues of Rājavidyā so far published—it is due once in four months—provide a rich and scholarly fare to cultivated minds and represent an endeavour very much to be encouraged.

K. A. N.

INDIA AND THE WORLD: Researches in India's policies, contacts and relationships with other countries and peoples of the world; by Buddha Prakash, M.A., LL.B., Ph.D., D.Litt., Kurukshetra University, V. I. series—31, Hoshiarpur, V.V.R.I. 1964, pp. xii and 392, price Rs. 20/-.

The author's standpoint in this book can be gathered from his citations from Toynbee, "India is the central link in a chain of regional civilizations that extend from Japan in the far North East to Ireland in the far North West. Between these two extremities the chain sags down southwards in a festoon, that dips below the equator in Indonesia. It is not of course only in a geographical sense that India is in a key position. At the present moment, for instance, it is widely recognised that India holds the balance between rival ideologies" (p. 34). Again, "So now we turn to India, the spiritual gift that makes man human, is still alive in Indian souls. Go on giving the world Indian examples of it. Nothing else can do so much to help mankind to save itself from self-destruction" (p. 38). These citations form the background against which the first chapter in the book also entitled India and world is written.

For the rest there are fourteen other chapters which deal primarily with the geography and sometimes history of South Eastern and Central Asia in the light of data culled from the epics, the puranas and the Arthasastra. A vast amount of material primary and secondary has been brought together and discussed at great length though not sufficiently critically. The identifications suggested often deviate from those of earlier writers but not in all cases more acceptable. Chapter XII on Saka Dvipa, XIII on Central Asia Geography in the Ramayana and XIV India and Red Sea Regions are of greater interest than the rest. There is a final chapter on India and the West which seeks to prove "That Indian culture did not remain confined to Alexandria and Rome but reached Gaul and Scandinavia in North Europe", (p. 269).

The public interested in the glory of ancient Indian culture will be grateful to the author and the Visweswar Anand Vedic Research Institute which has published this patriotic interpretation of ancient lore.

K. A. N.

DECENTRALIZED ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT, by Vaikunth L. Mehta, pp. ix and 439, published by the Directorate of Publicity, Khadi and Village Industries Commission, Gramodaya, Bombay-56, price Rs. 12/-.

"Decentralized economic development" is a collection in nine parts, of articles written by Shri Vaikunth Lalubhai Mehta, an acknowledged authority on the ethics and efficacy of decentralised industrialisation for the Indian economy.

The edifice is erected on the basis of Gandhian economic thought which aims at a reconciliation of material economic development with the retention of human values in particular and the social fabric in general. In short, the book is a treatise that stresses the welfare aspect of economic growth in terms of social justice and industrial democracy.

A careful distinction has been made between the mere physical or regional dispersal of industries,, and a decentralisation of economic organisation; and it is maintained that it is the democratisation of industrial control, authority and production that is crucial for the establishment and perpetuation of a just and equitable social order. Thus it is a programme which falls within the broad purview of a cooperative commonwealth of small, self-governing units of production which would enjoy the economies of large scale, without however incurring the diseconomies of centralisation of authority, concentration of economic resources and opportunities, hapazard urbanisation and strained labour-capital relations. The essential thesis of this work may probably be well represented in the words of Arthur Lewis that "the small organisation can succeed just as well if it is surrounded by agencies—private, cooperative or statutory—which will take over all that part of the work which needs to be done on a large scale, so that the small firm can concentrate on those activities which are adequately done on a small scale". (Theory of Economic Growth" p. 77). In connection with his exposition of the basic strategy of industrial evolution, the author has viewed the industrial and economic policies of the Government of India, with particular reference to the attitude of the government to decentralised development.

Far from being a mere sentimental approach to the problem, this volume provides a sound economic rationale for a decentralised pattern of industrial growth. In the context of a rapidly

rising population and the limited employment potential of the factory establishment even in the absence of schemes of rationalisation, not to speak of the prospective displacements of men from work which such large scale factory development could involve, it is but inevitable and only economically justifiable that the development of the cottage and small scale units of production should be sponsored and even encouraged through the general support of the community on the one hand and the protection by the state on the other. More particularly, attention has been focussed on the need for mopping up the surplus manpower in the rural areas for productive work. "It is only by a proliferation and diversification of economic activities....that we could be able to draw upon the large reserves of manpower that the country possesses" (p. 59).

Shri Mehta is however no votary for non-capitalist methods of production in general. He very well realises the need for the creation of a strong capital base for the self-sustained development of the economy. But the consequential inflationary results of investment in the long term capital projects could be alleviated only by the decentralised production of atleast those consumer goods that are needed for mass consumption and which can be produced by the cottage and small scale units. Such a scheme, as the author remarks, would incidentally allow the scarce domestic capital, technical skill and foreign exchange resources of the economy to be exclusively utilised for the establishment of the essential infrastructure.

The book also contains useful suggestions for the efficient working of decentralised industries. Of particular significance is the proposal for a properly formulated programme of common production cum collaboration between heavy and small scale industries, on the model of Japan, that would go a long way in helping to reduce the costs of production of the small industries and thus enhance their productivity.

It should, however, be noted that the continued survival of the decentralised production units is dependent on their familiarisation with the production of new articles, for most of the traditional products will disappear into factories sooner or later. Moreover, research cum extension agencies for conducting experiments in improving production techniques as also for diffusing the knowledge of these improved methods and of the use of better mate-

rials among the actual producers, are the necessary planks of a design of successful decentralised development. Only then can decentralised decision making at least in certain spheres of production, conduce to maximum economic experimentation through mobilisation of skills and provision of incentives.

R. THAMARAJAKSHI

INDIAN HANDICRAFTS, Kamaledevi Chattopadhyaya, pp. 95 with 75 illustrations and select bibliography; Allied Publishers Private Ltd., 13/14, Asaf Ali Road, New Delhi-1. Price 6·50 dollars.

The Indian Council for Cultural Relations, New Delhi under whose auspices the book under review has been published has chosen the right person to write this book; for as everyone knows Kamaladevi Chattopadhyaya has dedicated herself to the great work of resuscitating Indian Handicrafts and is therefore easily an authority on the subject. She is the architect of the All-India Handicrafts Board, New Delhi and holds the Chairmanship of the Board. Her knowledge of Indian handicrafts is profound and first hand because she has travelled to remote places in the interiors of India where Indian artisans ply their traditional occupations and studied their heritage *in situ*. The appreciation of Indian handicrafts that prevails in different parts of the world to-day is the outcome mainly of her efforts through the organization of exhibitions of Indian handicrafts in India as well as abroad.

Handicraft in India is "not an industry as the word is commonly understood; for the produce is also a creation symbolizing the inner desire and fulfilment of the community. The various pieces of handicrafts whether metalware, pottery, mats or woodwork, clearly indicate that while these are made to serve a positive need in the daily life of the people, they also act as a vehicle of self-expression for they reveal a conscious aesthetic approach". (p. 2). Thus Indian handicrafts form a class by themselves expressing a great national heritage.

An authentic exposition of the traditional handicrafts of India is covered in chapters on Pottery, Metalware, Textiles, Embroidery, Carpets, Jewellery, Mats-Basketry and wood-work with excellent illustrations. A select bibliography adds to the value of the book. Discussing the tension in which the Indian artisans have been landed by the swiftly changing economy of India the author observes: "To go wholly back to the past is impossible for the

past was a background of life that has less and less significance in terms of the new social order. Equally to absorb the Western forms has no meaning, for they are alien and have no link with the craftsmen's comprehensions and concepts. What then is possible? The question has no easy solution....what it can do is to help cleanse the eye of the craftsman of the corrupt forms that have blurred his vision and leave it to the unfailing creative force that still lies deeply embedded within the craftsman's eyes and hands to dictate and create a new tradition" (p. 72). The Allied Publishers have done a superb job in bringing out the book in a very attractive form.

P. S. V. Rao

INDIAN JEWELLERY (Marg, Vol. XVII, September, '64 No. 4):

In keeping with their traditions, the publishers of Marg have devoted this number to Indian Jewellery, dealing with its various aspects. It is a much needed work and the contributions range from a historical survey, folk and tribal jewellery, and hints on elegance and sophistication in the choice of ornaments, to the measures taken by the Government for the development of the craft and its export.

The rather brief historical survey of the development of the craft from pre-historic times to the present day has some well chosen illustrations from excavation finds (Taxila) and sketches from sculptures and paintings. Foreign influences at various periods—the Greek, Scytho-Parthian, Islamic and modern western influences—and the special encouragement given by the Mughals to this art, with its rich results, are adequately emphasized.

'Artistic and Aesthetic Expressions' is an aesthetic appreciation of ornaments of different ages and regions with pleasing and effective illustrations from sculptures and paintings. The important role played by flower motifs in the development of Jewellery patterns forms the theme of yet another article. Folk jewellery is described and illustrated with the aid of "belles" from Kangra, Kashmir, Himachal Pradesh, Kulu, Rajasthan, Gujarat, Orissa, Bengal, Andhra, and Madras. One is however left with the impression that more attention could have been paid to jewellery from the south.

The bewildering variety of tribal jewellery is described with suitable illustrations and it is rightly pointed out that primitive

jewellery is still preserved among the tribes, each tribal group having norms specific to their own cultures.

'The craft of the goldsmith' deals with the traditional way of working with only a few tools and the more dexterous use of their hands by the jewellers in the delicate art of jewel making. Due to the hieratic nature of Indian art, the goldsmith like the architect and sculptor is not as much of an artist as a trained craftsman to meet the general demand and this is viewed as one of the sharpest points of distinction between India and the West.

On the whole, the authors, of the number have rendered a great service by reiterating through this elegant publication the need for a systematic and comprehensive study of the subject which is long overdue and is sure to produce works at once interesting and useful for an understanding of the art of jewel making in India.

R. CHAMPAKALAKSHMI.

(MARG—Vol. XVII, No. 3, June 1964):

This issue of Marg, containing as it does, learned papers by eminent scholars such as M. R. Anand, B. N. Goswamy, M. S. Randhawa, K. C. Arya, Jagdish Mittal, is in many ways a remarkable publication. By devoting quite a number of their issues to the art of painting in India, the publishers of Marg have awakened deep interest not only among the general public but also among scholars and students of art, in the painting remains of India of different periods, styles and techniques.

The present number deals with one of the most important phases of Indian painting—the Pahari painting of the 18th-19th centuries—which represents the last of the various styles—the Kangra style—of Indian painting before 20th century modern painting. Found mostly in the hilly regions of the northern most part of India, these paintings have distinct characteristics as enlarged miniatures and as the most remarkable survivals of the period, executed in the fresco and tempera techniques.

The themes have been drawn mainly from the Epics, Vaishṇava Purāṇas and Śaiva legends. As such, M. S. Randhawa's "Vaishṇavism—Inspiration of Rajput Painting" forms a very suitable introduction to the understanding of the paintings, for the Vaishṇava poetry of saints and mystics, ranging from the 12th to

16th centuries ultimately found expression in painting from the 17th to 19th centuries in Rajasthan and Punjab Hill States."

M. R. Anand's "Notes on the composition of Pahari Murals" describe the method of composition of the paintings to suit the architectural setting—the walls and ceilings—as decorative pictures and designs, the optical balance achieved by the painters, the use of motif, large and small, to obtain that balance, and colour values and other general characteristics of these paintings.

"Technical Notes" by K. C. Aryan and T. R. Gairola deal briefly with the two techniques, tempera and fresco in which the paintings are executed.

The above three papers provide the necessary background for the graphic description that follows, of paintings from different centres such as Arki, Chanba, Dada Siba, Dam thal, Dharmsal, Jammu, Kan Khal, Kulu, Mandi, Nadaun and Nurpur—all of them belonging to the 18th-19th centuries. A vivid picture of the paintings from each centre is given with their date, description of style and themes llustrated by excellent reproductions of the best preserved specimens among them. The illustrations are furnished with elaborate descriptive notes. Though mainly religious in their content, these murals are of great value for a study of contemporary life, as secular scenes representing the British army and locomotives are casually introduced. It is of great interest to note that most of the paintings are clearly dated and even the names of the artists are preserved, as for example, Bishandas of Dam thal, Bhagavan, and above all Golu, the Nurpur artist, on whom there is a separate note by B. N. Goswamy.

The miniature like characteristics of these paintings and the ingenious way in which they have been transformed into murals are presented in an interesting manner. That these paintings are not devoid of the Ajanta-like qualities of grace and vitality in their treatment is well brought out and is rightly attributed to the individual genius of artists like Golu.

The illustrations including the cover page maintain the excellent standard of Marg publications and are altogether pleasing and effective.

There is a very useful supplement to this number, containing reviews of books on art and archaeology by leading writers.

R. CHAMPAKALAKSHMI.

A limited number of copies of the *Bulletin of the Institute of Traditional Cultures,* intended for sale, are available with the Registrar, University of Madras, Madras 5. Orders for them may be placed with him. They will not be sent by V.P.P. but only on receipt of the cost of the copies in advance by Money Order or Cheques or Drafts payable at par at Madras. Postage is extra. The approximate weight of each book is noted against each. Copies will be despatched by registered book-post or parcel. The postage for the copies required may be ascertained from the postal authorities and included with the cost of the copies when remittances are made.

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THE CHOLAS by Prof. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri. Revised Edition, 1955, pp. viii, 812	Rs. 15/-	130 tolas
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